FBIS DAILY REPORT

MIDDLE EAST & SOUTH ASIA REVIEW

13 JUNE 1986

Lebanon

Syrian Vice President 'Ali al-Halim Khaddam met with Prime Minister Rashid Karami, Amal Movement leader Nabih Birri, Progressive Socialist Party head Walid Junblatt, and other Lebanese political and religious leaders in Damascus, Damascus television reported, noting that the talks centered on the situation in Lebanon. Earlier, Damascus radio noted that Khaddam had a meeting with Iranian Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Mohammad 'Ali Besharati, who arrived in Damascus from Beirut following his attempts to effect a cease-fire there. Tehran radio reported that at the meeting Khaddam expressed Syria's appreciation for Iran's efforts in Lebanon which he said Syria had been following "carefully," and voiced the hope that those efforts in concert with Syria's "struggle" would prevent further clashes among Muslims in that country. Regarding bilateral relations, the two officials agreed on the need to continue strengthening Syrian-Iranian ties which are based on "strategic dimensions," according to Damascus radio.

As for the security situation, Voice of Lebanon radio reported a "guarded calm" around the Palestinian camps early 13 June following "violent" fighting between Amal and Palestinian gunmen the previous night which left at least 5 persons dead and 30 others wounded. Earlier, the radio reported that 20 persons were wounded in clashes from late 11 June to midday 12 June. Beirut radio subsequently cited a statement from the Amal Movement's Fifth Section which attributed the renewed fighting to a Palestinian "advance" in Burj al-Barajinah. "Palestinian sources" cited in a later clandestine Radio Free Lebanon report accused Amal and the Lebanese Army's 6th Brigade of preparing to launch an offensive against the camp and divulged that 70 percent of Burj al-Barajinah has been destroyed in the fighting. In an appeal to Arab and Muslim leaders cited by Baghdad Voice of PLO radio, the Palestine Liberation Organization declared that Amal, with the aid of the 6th Brigade, has unleashed a "second phase" of its "aggression" against the Palestinian camps featuring "organized" military attacks and the use of tanks and heavy artillery and rockets.

In a separate development, Voice of Lebanon radio reported that five persons were killed in clashes between Hizballah and the Syrian Social Nationalist Party in Mashgharah township in Al-Biqa' late 12 June and described the atmosphere in the area as "extremely tense." An earlier radio report warned of Syrian intervention in Mashgharah if fighting were to break out.

Libya

"Reliable European sources" disclosed to KUNA that in indirect contacts with Europeans, Libya has expressed a readiness to declare its "neutrality" in the Mediterranean region provided that the U.S.'s West European allies in NATO meet two conditions: specifically, that they pledge not to aid the United States in any future U.S. operation against the Jamahiriyah and that they "officially prevent" the United States from utilizing NATO bases in Europe in the event of military action against Libya. The sources warned that should Europe "disregard this attitude," Libya will "very shortly" announce officially its approval for the establishment of Soviet military bases throughout the Jamahiriyah. Although revealing that the Soviet Union and Libya have reached "full agreement" on the bases, the sources nevertheless claimed that it will be implemented only if Western Europe continues "sitting on the fence" and acting according to U.S. wishes.

In a separate development, in an interview with the Italian agency ANSA, the Libyan ambassador to Italy termed the decision to place the navigation base on Lampedusa Island under Italian control as "very positive," and asserted that no problems exist between the two countries. Commenting on Italian reaction to dispatches carried by JANA, the ambassador admitted that he sometimes "gives no importance" to what the agency says and insisted that the statements carried by it do not emanate from official Libyan quarters.

Iraq-USSR

Iraqi Trade Minister Hasan 'Ali al-Amiri held separate talks with USSR Council of Ministers Deputy Chairman Yakov Ryabov and Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze in Moscow 12 June, INA reported, noting that 'Ali and an accompanying delegation arrived in the Soviet Union the previous day.

Egypt

Foreign Affairs Minister Ahmad 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid held a "frank and constructive" talk with his Czechoslovak counterpart Bohuslav Chnoupek in Prague, the Czechoslovak agency CTK reported, noting that Al-Majid arrived in Czechoslovakia on an official visit the same day.

PLO

PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasir 'Arafat accompanied by committee members Faruq Qaddumi and 'Abd al-Rahim Ahmad paid a "surprise visit" to Morocco 12 June, KUNA reported. The agency subsequently disclosed 13 June that 'Arafat chaired a meeting in Casablanca the previous day of the Palestine National Fund's Administrative Council, during which the Fund's "huge deficit," due to the failure by some Arab states to meet their financial obligations to the PLO, was discussed.

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QNA Reports Agenda for Iraqi-Syrian Ministers Meeting

JN130808 Doha QNA in Arabic 0740 GMT 13 Jun 86

[Text] Abu Dhabi, 13 Jun (QNA) — Arab diplomatic sources in Damascus have said that the agenda of the Iraqi and Syrian foreign ministers, who are scheduled to meet on the border between the two countries today, includes three issues relating to the reopening of the border, pumping Iraqi oil across Syrian territory, and reaching political cooperation.

In statements to the newspaper *AL-ITTIHAD* issued here today, these sources voiced their optimism for the success of the two ministers' meeting. They pointed out that the Iraqi and Syrian leaderships made mutual concessions which might pave the way for a successful meeting between Presidents Hafiz al-Asad and Saddam Husayn.

Italian Party Leader Affirms Support to 'Arafat

JN121856 Baghdad Voice of PLO in Arabic 1718 GMT 12 Jun 86

[Text] Brother Abu 'Ammar [Yasir 'Arafat] met with Mario Capanna, secretary general of the Italian Democratic Party, in Tunis yesterday. They discussed the latest developments in the Palestinian issue and the Middle East situation. Capanna affirmed his party's firm, principled stand in support of our Palestinian people's just struggle under the PLO to regain their legitimate national rights.

'Ugly Aggression' Continues in Beirut Camps

JN121859 Baghdad Voice of PLO in Arabic 1718 GMT 12 Jun 86

[Text] For the 27th consecutive day, the Amal Movement gangs and the Lebanese 6th Brigade are continuing to escalate their ugly aggression against the Palestinian refugee camps in West Beirut. A Palestinian military spokesman said that the Amal gangs last night and this morning intensified their criminal shelling using tanks, heavy artillery, and mortars of various calibers against the Sabra, Shatila, and Burj al-Barajinah refugee camps. Several houses were destroyed and a number of innocent citizens were either martyred or wounded, including a number of children, women, and old people.

PLO Issues Appeal for End to 2d Phase

JN121851 Baghdad Voice of PLO in Arabic 1718 GMT 12 Jun 86

["Text" of PLO "appeal" to Arab and Muslim leaders, Arab masses, and friends in the world; date not given — read by announcer]

[Text] The Amal gangs with the support of the 6th Brigade have begun to implement the second phase of the aggression against the refugee camps in accordance with the design agreed upon between Nabih Birri and Brigadier General Ghazi Kan'an, chief of Syrian intelligence in Lebanon. This new phase began after 27 days of continuous attacks. Yesterday these gangs began to intensify their attacks on the Sabra, Shatila, and Burj al-Barajinah refugee camps by using T-54 and T-55 tanks alongside the Lebanese Army tanks of the 6th Brigade, as well as the heavy field artillery and long-range Grade rockets, which are being fired at the refugee camps from the Syrian forces' positions in Sawfar. This is being done despite all the cease-fire agreements which were reached with the supervision of Algerian President Chadli Bendjedid's envoy and the efforts of Lebanese religious leaders, a number of Lebanese nationalist leaders, and the Algerian Embassy.

The start of this new phase coincided with organized military attacks backed by T-54 and T-55 tanks and the 6th Brigade tanks, as well as intense, heavy artillery shelling of the refugee camps within the framework of a criminal operation which has far-reaching objectives against our kinfolk in the camps to achieve population segregation. The PLO reiterates its appeal to Arab leaders to immediately move and end these new massacres of the Palestinians in their camps, the nationalist Muslims in West Beirut, and the entire Lebanese people. The PLO appeals to its friends in the world to help it end this continuing tragedy of the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples. Moreover, in view of the ugly crimes that are being committed against its people in the refugee camps in Lebanon, the PLO deems it necessary to shoulder its responsibilities in facing this aggression in accordance with the seriousness and development of the situation. At the same time, we reiterate our appeal to the mujahidin brothers from the Shi'ite community, behind whom the Amal Movement is hiding, to exercise their national, pan-Arab, religious, and humanitarian duty and stop these gangs from continuing this ugly crime against their Palestinian brothers who are facing their new Karbala' [8th century battle in which Muslims were massacred] at the hands of those who were supposed to be their brothers and allies. God is a witness to our good intentions. God made it but a message of hope for you, and an assurance to your hearts: In any case there is no help except from God, the exalted, the wise. [Koranic verse]

PLO Radio Details Attacks on Israeli Targets

JN121940 Baghdad Voice of PLO in Arabic 1718 GMT 12 Jun 86

[Text] A military spokesman for the Palestinian Revolution Forces General Command has stated the following: Upon the instructions of the Revolution Command, our heroic revolutionaries are continuing to escalate their heroic operations against the enemy's vital military targets throughout our occupied Palestinian territories, inflicting further losses in life and equipment on it. The following are the details of these operations:

1. One of our groups of fighters operating inside the occupied homeland managed to plant a timed explosive charge near an enemy center in a crowded street in the Ramat Gan settlement near Tel Aviv. The charge exploded yesterday morning, causing extensive damage to the center and killing or wounding a large number of enemy personnel. Despite the occupation forces' armed cordon around the scene of the operation and repressive measures, our group of fighters withdrew safely to base after successfully carrying out its mission.

2. Our heroic revolutionaries managed to plant antiarmor explosive charges on the road leading to the (Midfa') settlement built by the enemy in the occupied West Bank. The charges exploded yesterday as an occupation patrol was passing by. Two military vehicles were damaged, one jeep was destroyed, and all their occupants were either killed or wounded. Immediately afterward, the Zionist security forces rushed to the area and carried out an extensive search for our heroic revolutionaries. However, their efforts were in vain.

3. One of our groups of fighters yesterday launched a hand grenade and incendiary bomb attack on a Zionist military patrol as it passed near the Al-Duhayshah refugee camp near Bethlehem in the occupied West Bank. Two military vehicles were badly damaged and several enemy soldiers were either killed or wounded. The occupation forces besieged the heroic Al-Duhayshah refugee camp, carried out an extensive search, and arrested a large number of citizens on the pretext of being involved in the operation. Despite these arbitrary measures, our group of fighters managed to withdraw safely from the scene of the operation. Revolution until victory.

[Signed] The Palestinian Revolution Forces General Command

KUWAIT

Oil Minister on Output, Planned OPEC Meeting

LD121008 Kuwait KUNA in English 0829 GMT 12 Jun 86

[Text] Kuwait, June 12 (KUNA) — Oil and Industry Minister Shaykh 'Ali al-Khalifah Thursday denied reports that Kuwaiti oil output has reached 1.8 million barrels a day and forecast that prices would settle at about 19 dollars a barrel at the end of this year.

In a statement to Kuwaiti daily *AL-ANBA'*, Shaykh 'Ali expressed optimism towards the outcome of a June 25 meeting of OPEC oil ministers in the Yugoslav island of Brioni.

"The meeting at least would set the outlines of an agreement (on production levels) which we will be reaching after a month or two," the Kuwaiti official noted.

Shaykh 'Ali (?said) oil prices dropped once again recently due to market fluctuation and not because of the convening of the OPEC meeting. He said oil prices rose after the U.S. oil stocks dried and prices decreased once again as the U.S. restocked.

The OPEC ministerial meeting will be preceded by a two-day session on June 23-24 of a five man committee entrusted to contact non-OPEC producing countries on output levels.

The committee, composed of Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Indonesia, Venezuela and Nigeria, met in Al-Ta'if Saudi Arabia, last May 23-25. It reviewed the outcome of contacts with non-OPEC countries to convince them to cut their oil output in a bid to reduce the glut on the world oil market and shore up prices.

The committee is to report to the ministerial conference on the outcome of its contacts, towards which Shaykh 'Ali had expressed satisfaction.

Shaykh 'Ali had told KUNA followed the meeting that Oman, Egypt, Mexico, Malaysia, Brunei and Norway have shown interest in slashing their outputs. He added that OPEC countries were [words indistinct] a fair share of the world oil market, following the organization's repeated sacrifices to defend oil prices.

OMAN

Legal Affairs Minister Receives Message From Tunisia

JN121252 Manama WAKH in Arabic 1144 GMT 12 Jun 86

[Text] Muscat, 12 Jun [WAKH] — Fahd ibn Mahmud al Sa'id, Omani deputy prime minister for legal affairs, has received a written message from Tunisian Prime Minister Mohamed Mzali dealing with bilateral relations.

Abdul Abdelmalek Larif, Tunisia's ambassador to the Sultanate of Oman, delivered the message when he was received by Fahd al-Sa'id here today. During the meeting, they discussed the existing bilateral relations in all fields, as well as the current situation in the Arab and international arenas.

SAUDI ARABIA

Riyadh Views Inter-Arab Rapprochement, Need for Unity

LD121120 Riyadh Domestic Service in Arabic 2000 GMT 11 Jun 86

[Commentary by Husayn al-Ashari]

[Text] His Majesty King Husayn of Jordan has described the Syrian-Iraqi reconciliation encounter due to begin Friday [13 June] as a cornerstone for unifying Arab ranks regarding the question of the conflict with the Israeli enemy, and putting an end to the war between Iraq and Iran.

If at any stage of the Arab nation's history, inter-Arab solidarity constitutes an Arab demand in order to affirm the ties of brotherhood and common destiny, then this solidarity is considered at this delicate stage to be an urgent necessity and an inevitable option to confront the growing challenges and dangers threatening the Arabs, all the Arabs. Needless to say, the absence of solidarity shown in the marginal quarrels of the Arab scene has been a source of concern for all Arab nations. All realize the importance of a unity of ranks and are calling for it and are not resigned to allow disputes to prevail in lieu of solidarity. This attitude has formed a rich platform for all the Arab moves aimed at bringing ranks together, and which resulted in bringing brothers closer together.

In speaking of efforts for Arab unity, an observer appreciatively records the role played by the Kingdom under the leadership of His Majesty Fahd ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, proceeding from its historic reponsibility to bring brothers closer together and to lay down the foundations of an effective inter-Arab solidarity aimed at serving the higher Arab interest and common issues.

The Kingdom, through the efforts expanded by his highness the crown prince and the directives of his majesty the king, has been able to affirm this fact. The result was the Syrian-Jordanian rapprochement. The normalization of the situation between Jordan and Syria is the natural outcome of the Saudi leadership's sincerity and its realization of the requirements of the current stage which is witnessing an escalation in dangers and threats and attempts by the nation's enemies to divide its ranks.

The Syrian-Jordanian rapprochement argues well for the Arab nation, is a new page in its history and a positive turning point in its march, and has allowed the sun of solidarity to shine once again in the Arab skies. This encouraged the sincere among the sons of this nation to secure a Syrian-Iraqi rapprochement which undoubtedly will be one of the strong pillars of Arab solidarity, a prominent landmark on the Arab scene, and a turning point for the good of Arab and Islamic issues prime among them being the Palestinian question and the efforts aimed at halting the Iraqi-Iranian war.

The point is that inter-Arab rapprochement and solidarity are capable of undermining the Israeli enemy's hopes of swallowing the occupied lands in the absence of inter-Arab solidarity. This rapprochement undoubtedly helps in finding essential support points and opens up fresh scopes toward the settlement of the

Iraqi-Iranian war which has weakened the Arab and Islamic body with its fire, gives Israel the opportunity to fish in troubled waters and to step up its aggression against the Arab nation.

Assuredly, all Arabs view rapprochement and solidarity within the Arab nation, and the dropping of inter-Arab disputes, as the end of the stage of inter-Arab estrangement, and as arguing well for this nation which looks forward to similar encounters in the Arab Maghreb so that inter-Arab solidarity may be complete, a matter which the Israeli enemy has long banked on as never materializing.

Waldheim Election Hailed as Fighting Foreign Pressure

PM121535 Riyadh AL-JAZIRAH in Arabic 10 Jun 86 p 3

[Editorial: "Salutations to the People Who Rejected Zionist Pressures"]

[Text] Just as expected, Dr Kurt Waldheim has won the Austrian presidential elections. The victory of the former UN secretary general should not be looked upon only as a personal victory for Waldheim but also a great victory for the Austrian people who have rejected foreign pressures and the hostile campaign which the Zionist quarters waged against him. This campaign is not based on any objective facts; rather, as even those involved in it know, it is a kind of belated punishment for this man, who throughout the time he shouldered the responsibility of the secretariat of the world's most important organization, was an example of integrity and discipline. He was an effective man and a man of international reconciliation. He fought on several fronts in the interest of humanity; he was the number one supporter of international efforts for disarmament; and he was the man who supported the just causes of oppressed countries and peoples. This was symbolized in his stand against Israeli aggression against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples and his fight against the racist regime in South Africa. It was this splendid record of Waldheim's history during the time he was the number one UN official that caused fury among the Zionists and their associates and was the reason for their ferocious campaign against him. The methods we have seen were not intended for Waldheim alone but were also to serve as a warning and caution to all international officials who may dare to do what Waldheim did.

Waldheim's courage, integrity, and just stand are matched only by the courage and justice of the Austrian people who put their trust in this man despite the pressures during the elections and the pressures that will be put on Austria after his election. Salutations to the Austrian people who did not weaken before threats and inducements of the Zionists and their allies. Salutations to the man who has become president of Austria with the desire of the Austrian people alone.

Hospital States Somali President Continues To Improve

GF111219 Riyadh Domestic Service in Arabic 1130 GMT 11 Jun 86

[Text] The Armed Forces Hospital in Riyadh has stated that the health of Somali President Muhamed Siad Barre is continuing its fast improvement and that he is in excellent condition. This came in a medical bulletin issued by the hospital today. The bulletin added that the president receives visitors from 1000 to 1100 each day.

UAE

Papers Comment on Iraqi-Syrian Meeting Due 13 Jun

JN120731 Abu Dhabi WAM in Arabic 0630 GMT 12 Jun 86

[Excerpts] Abu Dhabi, 12 Jun (WAM) — In their comments today, three local papers expressed the hope that the meeting, which is scheduled to take place between the Iraqi and Syrian foreign ministers tomorrow, would be a new turning point in the Arab march.

AL-ITTIHAD describes the two ministers' meeting as an important turning point in the history of the relations between the two countries and a new beginning on the path to restore normal relations between the two countries.

AL-BAYAN, which is published in Dubayy, expresses optimism over the meeting and says the two ministers will not be alone, but will be backed by the hearts of 170 million Arabs, who are praying to God that the meeting will result in agreement and will pave the way for a bigger meeting at the summit level.

AL-WAHDAH notes the significance of the meeting which, it says, has been awaited for a long time. The meeting, it adds, is significant not only on the Iraqi and Syrian level, but also on the Arab level. The paper says that the Syrian-Iraqi dispute has hampered many efforts to achieve a minimum level of Arab solidarity in view of the two countries' influence on Arab events.

Abu Ghazalah Leaves for Washington, London

NC120912 Cairo MENA in Arabic 0815 GMT 12 Jun 86

[Text] Cairo, 12 Jun (MENA) — Field Marshal Muhammad 'Abd al-Halim Abu Ghazalah, deputy prime minister and minister of defense and war production, left Cairo this morning for the United States, where he will have talks on military cooperation between the two countries. He will begin talks on Monday with U.S. Vice President George Bush, Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, Secretary of State George Shultz, and National Security Adviser John Poindexter.

Abu Ghazalah will meet with several members of the Senate and House of Representatives. He will stay in the United States until Thursday and will then leave for London for talks with British Government officials.

Ghali, Italian Ambassador Discuss Mideast Issues

NC121537 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1440 GMT 12 Jun 86

[Text] Cairo, 12 Jun (MENA) — Dr Butrus Ghali, minister of state for foreign affairs, met today with Italian ambassador in Cairo, (Giovanni Migliolo).

Bilateral relations and cooperation in various fields were discussed during the meeting. They also discussed current developments and European positions toward issues in the Middle East.

Ghali, French Ambassador Discuss S. Africa Sanctions

NC121556 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1455 GMT 12 Jun 86

[Excerpt] Cairo, 12 Jun (MENA) — During his meeting today with French Ambassador in Cairo Pierre Hunt, Dr Butrus Ghali, minister of state for foreign affairs, asserted that Egypt will spare no effort to help impose international deterrent sanctions on the racist government in South Africa during the international conference, which will convene in Paris next Monday.

Dr Ghali reiterated Egypt's condemnation of the policy adopted by the racist government in South Africa and its criminal and inhumane actions against the African natives, who are the original owners of the land. He also stressed Egypt's condemnation of South African aggression against the Frontline States, particularly the aggression on Angola within the past few hours.

Dr Ghali discussed with the French ambassador the various issues related to the international conference on South Africa, which will be hosted by France under the auspices of the United Nations, the nonaligned group, and the OAU.

Saudi Oil Minister Yamani Ends Visit, Departs

NC121429 Cairo MENA in English 1350 GMT 12 Jun 86

[Text] Cairo, June 12 (MENA) — Ahmad Zaki Yamani, Saudi minister of petroleum, left here today at the end of his one-day visit to Egypt.

AL-AHRAM on 'Conventional' U.S. Mideast Policy

NC130537 Cairo MENA in Arabic 2110 GMT 12 Jun 86

[Text] Cairo, 12 Jun (MENA) — In its edition which will appear tomorrow, Friday, Cairo daily *AL-AHRAM* comments on information leaked after the talks between King Husayn of Jordan and U.S. President Ronald Reagan. The news is that there is a possibility that U.S. officials such as Vice President George Bush and Secretary of State George Shultz will be visiting certain Middle East countries to try and break the current deadlock in the peace process.

The paper says that the U.S. Administration is still faithful to its conventional style in its approach to the deteriorating situation in the Middle East. This style, the paper declares, depends on the application of such palliatives and sedatives as sending envoys of varied ranks to the region. The United States must understand, the paper says, that palliatives and sedatives no longer have any value in terms of boosting the peace process or creating the right atmosphere for negotiations.

The paper calls on the United States to take the initiative by proposing a plan of action that will lead to a way out of the current impasse. Washington, the paper says, has ample leverage it can apply to spur the parties concerned on and get them to sit down at the negotiating table. Most of all, *AL-AHRAM* adds, the United States can bring pressure to bear on Israel to give up its hard line and meet Palestinian moderates half way. Israel, the paper says, should meet the responsibilities and duties of peace.

Time is running out and the present stalemate is making the crisis worse. This helps no one except those who want to see continued instability in the region, along with the favorable atmosphere for increasing terrorism and instability worldwide that this creates, *AL-AHRAM* concludes.

'Brotherly' Syrian-Iranian Meeting in Damascus Noted

JN121539 Baghdad Voice of the Masses in Arabic
1500 GMT 12 Jun 86

[Text] Damascus — 'Abd al-Halim Khaddam, vice president of the Syrian regime, met with Mohammad 'Ali Besharati, deputy foreign minister of the Iranian regime, here today. The Syrian regime's media described the talks at this meeting as brotherly, aimed at entrenching the existing ties between the two regimes.

Citing the Syrian regime's news agency, REUTER says that the officials of the two regimes affirmed during their talks the need to continue and promote their relations in the various fields.

It may be mentioned that the Syrian and Tripoli regimes are permanent allies of the Khomeyni regime in its war of aggression against Iraq and have been extending various kinds of support and equipment to this regime and sending experts to it. Reliable reports have indicated that the bodies of 18 Syrian and Libyan experts arrived in Damascus and Tripoli after being killed on the warfront. [words indistinct]

Saddam Husayn Chairs General Command Meeting

JN121232 Baghdad Voice of the Masses in Arabic
1200 GMT 12 Jun 86

[Text] Staff Marshal Saddam Husayn, commander in chief of the Armed Forces, chaired a meeting of the Armed Forces General Command yesterday. The meeting was attended by Staff General 'Adnan Khayrallah, deputy commander in chief of the Armed Forces and defense minister; and Staff General 'Abd al-Jabbar Shanshal, minister of state for military affairs.

'Aziz Interviewed on French Visit, Syrian Dialogue

JN111914 Paris Radio Monte Carlo in Arabic
1746 GMT 11 Jun 86

[Interview with Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq 'Aziz in Paris by Antoine Nawfal — recorded; date not given]

[Text] [Antoine Nawfal] Mr Tariq 'Aziz, it is no longer a secret that your current visit to France was crowned with success. This is taken for granted. This visit has underlined the continuity of French-Iraqi relations. Jacques Chirac described these relations by saying they are relations between two allied states and are not subject to materi.l and Machiavellian interests. This is how Chirac described them. Now how does Tariq 'Aziz describe them?

[Tariq 'Aziz] I agree with His Excellency Jacques Chirac's description of the nature of Iraqi-French relations. These relations were not basically based on commercial principles, although they included within their framework large-scale commercial relations and this is natural in view of the reciprocal benefits inherent in relations between Iraq and France. The far- sighted political concept which stems from a genuine desire for independence and honest international cooperation made us establish distinguished relations with France. Mr Jacques Chirac contributed to building these relations with President Saddam Husayn when the president was an RCC vice chairman and when Chirac was a prime minister in the mid-seventies. Relations continued over the years. With his return to power he affirms a fact which has become entrenched in the minds of official leaders of both sides.

[Nawfal] It was noted that this visit has taken on an extraordinary nature in view of the size of the meetings held and the figures with whom you met, headed by the president of the Republic and the prime minister, in addition to banquets held at the External Relations Ministry and the Prime Ministry. Thus, this visit has exceeded what we have become familiar with regarding the so-called working visit. Why, in your opinion, was there this extraordinary nature? Is it a visit of a state to another state?

['Aziz] I am thankful for the welcome accorded to me by the French Government during my stay in Paris. The manifestations marking this visit reflect the nature of the close relations between our two countries. I cannot describe it as a visit by a state to another state because I am a foreign minister and my president's envoy conveying Iraq's views on issues of common concern for Iraq and France. I think that the French side behaved in this regard in a manner reflecting the nature of relations between our two countries and we are grateful for that.

[Nawfal] Regarding the exchange of visits, will Chirac visit Iraq? Has he promised to visit Iraq shortly?

['Aziz] I have conveyed an invitation to President Francois Mitterrand and Prime Minister Jacques Chirac to visit Iraq. They promised to comply with it at an appropriate time.

[Nawfal] Is it possible to say that French-Iraqi relations are too strong to be affected by one of the two sides' relations with a third party, and I mean the resumption of dialogue between Paris and Tehran?

['Aziz] Yes, I agree with you. Our bilateral relations will not be affected by the relations any one of us establishes with a third party. I was clear in commenting on this subject, whether in the meetings I had with French officials or in my statements to the French press. We do not object to normal relations between France and Iran. We respect France as a friendly country and respect its political options. As long as relations between France and Iran are not directed against Iraq — and they are not — we have no negative opinion about them.

[Nawfal] You have previously described this visit as political. What is meant by a political visit? Does it mean briefing the French ally on everything? For example, on the resumption of Iraqi-Syrian dialogue? What is the latest on this dialogue?

['Aziz] I was careful to emphasize the political nature of the visit because I was asked several questions, such as what I requested from the French Government, and questions were raised on financial and military affairs. In fact, basically I did not come to Paris to discuss details of financial, military, and other relations. I came to follow up things. I have no new requests. Matters in these two domains are proceeding normally.

It is natural when I come to this country as a politician to talk about political affairs, whether bilateral affairs or those pertaining to the situation in our region. France is interested in the Middle East and the Gulf region as well as in Iraqi opinions. We are also interested in French opinions. We have been exchanging opinions and analyses about these affairs for several years.

[Nawfal] What is the latest regarding Iraqi-Syrian dialogue?

['Aziz] Actually, His Majesty King Husayn is conducting a sincere, pan-Arab effort to resolve the problems between Iraq and Syria. This effort is continuing. However, we have not yet arrived at any result.

[Nawfal] However, King Husayn affirmed to *THE WASHINGTON POST* that you will meet with the Syrian foreign minister the day after tomorrow, Friday, somewhere on the borders.

['Aziz] God willing.

[Nawfal] Friday, God willing?

['Aziz] God willing.

[Nawfal] Why did Iraq insist in the past on the presence of a third party, while Syria rejected such a party?

['Aziz] I do not know why the Syrian side rejected that formula. However, I can explain the reasons for our demand for our brothers' presence at such meetings. In our view, when a fraternal side mediates between two disputing Arab countries it would be useful for such a side to at least attend their preliminary meetings. There is also the issue of accuracy in reporting on meetings. This is also important because we have to be accurate among ourselves and with our brothers regarding what we want and do not want in expressing our opinions and stands. These are the reasons prompting us to encourage such a formula. However, when any side desires a certain formula for reasons of his own, we do not reject such a formula because our objective is to reach agreement.

[Nawfal] Do you frankly believe that this meeting will produce any results and, if so, in what field, or is it a face-saving meeting as far as King Husayn is concerned?

['Aziz] No. As far as we are concerned it is not a face- saving meeting. We deeply believe in the need to establish normal relations between all Arab countries, especially the countries in our region. We have common concerns, interests, and security issues. Naturally, we have to have accord. It would be unnatural not to have accord. When there is an opportunity to meet, exchange views, discuss the situation, and agree on sound bases for meetings and cooperation, we must seize this opportunity to arrive at the objective which we seek and in which we believe.

[Nawfal] Is there a possiblity that oil will start being pumped across Syrian territory once again?

['Aziz] Actually I cannot comment on this because we have not yet embarked on the first step. It is not possible to talk about subsequent steps when we have not yet embarked on the first step.

[Nawfal] However, can we regard this as one of the aims of the meeting?

['Aziz] As far as we are concerned, we aim to establish normal relations in all fields with Syria and Libya. Our relations with Syria have not been normal. We believe that it would be useful to us and Syria and the Arab nation to have normal relations with Syria. Thus, there are details regarding the interpretation of normal relations between two countries — diplomatic, economic, trade, and other details. These details can be discussed afterward by the concerned sides.

[Nawfal] Will this meeting have an impact on the situation in Lebanon, especially in regard to the current battles in the refugee camps?

['Aziz] Actually I do not wish to raise great hopes in a meeting which has not taken place and whose outcome cannot be predicted. We have to wait.

[Nawfal] The Lebanese situation must have been raised during your meeting with President Amin al-Jumayyil in Bucharest. Now can you described that meeting in general?

['Aziz] We undoubtedly discussed the situation in Lebanon in depth. The situation in Lebanon greatly concerns us and we are pained at the continuing tragedy in Lebanon. I affirmed to His Excellency President Amin al-Jumayyil that Iraq will always strongly support Lebanon's unity, security, and stability. We did not discuss practical details because the meeting was a coincidence as I have said. However, I conveyed a clear message from the Iraqi leadership to his excellency. I also briefed him on the situation at the front and Iraq's preparedness to defend itself. His excellency expressed sympathy with the Iraqi stand.

[Nawfal] What is the news from the front?

['Aziz] The news from the front is very good. Our forces are fighting with competence, courage, and capability. They are in control of the situation on the ground, at sea, and in the air. The Iranians are feeling more and more that their adventures and expansionist policies against Iraq are costing them a heavy price in serious and tangible ways, not only on the level of human losses — and this is an aspect to which they do not give much attention — but also on other vital levels. They should learn an eloquent lesson from Iraq's decision to regain the initiative at the front.

[Nawfal] Attempts are being made to hold an extraordinary Arab summit. Iraq supports such a summit, but do you think that the current circumstances are appropriate for a summit?

['Aziz] We support holding regular Arab meetings whether on the level of ministers or a summit. During the Arab League Council's meeting in Tunis in March, Iraq was one of those stressing the need to hold an Arab summit as soon as possible. This summit has somehow been delayed, but we will continue to work for holding a summit. We believe that circumstances are always appropriate for holding a summit. When circumstances are good we must meet; when circumstances are bad we must also meet in order to change them.

[Nawfal] The circumstances then are always appropriate.

['Aziz] They must be so. We have a theory and a profound belief that Arab meetings should be regular, as is the case with all world groups. In Europe, here for instance, they meet continuously and regularly although they have many differences. A meeting is the framework through which differences can be dealt with. We believe in this and say Arab countries must meet regularly within the framework of the Arab League Council on the level of ministers and within the framework of a summit on the level of heads of state. Arab officials should discuss and resolve their problems at these meetings.

[Nawfal] Thank you.

['Aziz] Thank you very much.

Commanders, Defense Minister Cited on War With Iran

PM121351 Paris LE FIGARO MAGAZINE in French 7-13 Jun 86 pp 120-121

[Jacques Bonomo Report: "I Saw the Iraqi Army Attacking Along the Whole Front"]

[Text] "We have recaptured 801, 901, and 1094, 1108, and 1488; we started with 2142, 1904 and many others...." Near the Shameran peak in northeast Iraq in the region of (Chouarta), which is more like the Scottish highlands than Western Asia, Brigadier General Isma'il 'Abd al-Qadir, commander in chief of the sector, proudly pointed out to me the steep mountains recaptured by his victorious troops. On this front held by the Iraqi 1st Army Corps, as along the 1,400km of Iraqi-Iranian border, from the Turkish border to the waters of the Arabian Gulf, the Iraqi Army has moved onto the attack.

You sink up to your heels in the muddy ground which the rain somnetimes turns into a quagmire. Soldiers are extracting from the mud the pieces of equipment left after the Iranian defeat. Rifles, machine guns, 60-mm and 81-mm mortars, and RPG7 rocket launchers will be added to the piles of booty in the rear: Soviet-, Israeli-, or American-made equipment. On a gun emplacement the debris from an Iranian 106-mm gun which suffered a direct hit is mingled with the remains of the gunners....

"They are very hard, very brave enemies," the general told me. "The Iranian regular Army knows how to fight and takes calculated risks. But the crazy ones are the "revolution guards." They are completely hypnotized by the mullahs and launch suicide attacks, not caring about the losses...."

Moreover, the Iranian mullahs stop at nothing to turn the poor people they recruit into fanatics. All the intelligence services report the illuminated horseman (like a Midnight Cowboy) which the Iranian villagers and soldiers have seen riding at night over the hills on the border. "It is the prophet 'Ali come to guide our invasion of Iraq!" the mullahs cried. And the fighters in the "Holy War" hurled themselves into the attack. They were going to a massacre. There were 12-year old children wearing the key to paradise around their necks. And perhaps they were carrying the little home-made pistol — a ludicrous little popgun firing one shot, whose tiny toy-like butt has a pink plastic ribbon round it....

From the rainy, misty, muddy heights of our observation point, we came down the next day by a red and white path hewn out of the side of the mountain by the engineers using explosives and bulldozers. You feel a strange embarrassment, almost shame, whenever you leave frontline troops in their precarious shelters while you return to the security and comfort of the rear, down in the plain....

We returned to the spartan comfort of the campaign headquarters. The only luxury are the splendid rugs which cover the barrack floors. And there was also the luxury of the mess, where I found the legendary mustache of the deputy commander of the 1st Army Corps, which holds this zone: General Muhammad Salih, formerly military attache in Paris. "Here on the northern front of Sulaymaniyah province, which you are the first to visit, the Iranians occupied many high strategic points on Iraqi territory after their major attacks in 1983. That enabled their artillery fire to hit the whole area you saw from up there. Now, since our last attacks, it is our guns which are crushing the enemy's front and rear lines on Iranian territory."

Complete Confidence in its Air Supremacy

And here, as elsewhere, with methodical and powerful thrusts Iraq has begun to loosen the enemy's hold. Infantry and paratroopers — troops of impressive bearing and appearance — have launched assaults and even engaged in hand-to-hand fighting. Fighting alongside them were the light battalions of daunting Kurdish volunteers from this region who formerly rebelled agianst the Baghdad central government. Their presence alongside the regular Iraqi Army in the joint effort to reconquer national territory symbolizes the unity of the rebuilt country behind Saddam Husayn and the Ba'th Party.

Another comfort to which we returned was the plush helicopter, which took us to the snow- and cloud-covered mountains, then flew over the spurs and jagged ridges before emerging over the vast grayish-yellow plain. Down there to the north was Irbil battlefield, where Alexander the Great routed Darius' Persian troops. Straight ahead of us the huge flames of the Kirkuk flares reminded us of Iraq's main source of wealth: oil. Then we turned 25 degrees left and headed south. And between the Tigris and Euphrates, with palm trees as far as you can see, so dense that the star-shaped tops of the trees, framed in the helicopter porthole, were at times reminiscent of the strange aquatic vegetation deep under the sea.... Baghdad finally appeared, brightly lit now that night had fallen. There is no blackout or passive defense for this capital of a country at war. But there is complete confidence in its air supremacy.

That was confirmed to me by Defense Minister General 'Adnan Khayrallah. But, in that case, how had the Al-Faw pocket not been defeated, and how were the Iranians still entrenched there?

"They are not entrenched, but trapped," the minister replied. "When they launched their great attack in the night of 9 February, their intention was to catch our forces in a pincer movement and cut off the 3d Iraqi Army Corps (east of Basra) from the 7th Corps (responsible for the Shatt al-'Arab). In 4 days they occu-

pied 60 percent of Umm al-Rasas island and created a pocket 20km by 10km. Now, after our counterattacks and our bombing raids, the enemy is locked in a pocket 8km by 6km."

[Bonomo] Can you put a figure on the Iranian losses?

[Khayrallah] I recently announced that they amounted to 12 divisions, in other words 70 percent of the forces used, and this has been confirmed to us by the prisoners. All they have now in this small area are three or four divisions of "Revolution guards" and two brigades of the 21st Division, whose lines of communication and supply have been destroyed. I can tell you, and through you all our French friends, that the enemy's situation in this net is desperate. He will lose thousands of men and will withdraw from our territory. [Khayrallah ends]

His tone was calm and determined, in keeping with his square jaw, thin black mustache, and straight hair. He looks like a war leader, as does President Saddam Husayn, who is shown in combat dress on huge allegorical posters in all the streets of Baghdad. But why did Iraq give the impression of being entirely on the defensive until the past few days?

[Khayrallah] First, because we are careful with the lives of our soldiers, whose heroism must not be wasted. Second, because President Saddam Husayn had the political desire to prove to world public opinion that Iraq was not waging a war of aggression, unlike Khomeyni. Iraq was anxious to respect the Arab League agreements adopted at the Algiers conference — agreements which advocated helping Iraq to end the fighting and start negotiations.

[Bonomo] Do all the Arab countries agree on that?

[Khayrallah] Unfortuntely, it must be admitted that they do not! At present Syria and Libya support the Iranians and have openly been their political and military allies for a long time. For example, the bombing of our territory, like the raid on Al-Walid (in western Iraq) in 1982, was only possible if the Iranian planes used Syrian bases or were refueled in flight by planes from that country. Their radius of action did not enable them to take off from Iranian bases and return there. In addition, one particular Gulf country with a large Iranian community is giving economic aid to Khomeyni in the form of food, transport and black market products.... [Khayrallah ends]Gen Khayrallah deliberately did not name that country. But it is not difficult to recognize it as the emirate of Dubayy.

"However," the minister continued, "the other Gulf countries are aware that Iraq is acting as a shield. And they know that Iraq alone protects them against the Iranian desire to control the islands and the Gulf. Things have not changed since the Shah's days, and there is a constant historical antagonism between Persians and Arabs which has been going on for 12 centuries.... Would it not be preferable for this threat to recede? Would it not be preferable for money to be available for productive investments? Would it not be preferable for development to be resumed?"

Moreover, it is surprising for the visitor to note the extent to which development work and the country's modernization are continuing despite the burden of a war which has cost $12 billion per year for 5 years.

So, to shorten this conflict which the ayatollah's bellicosity is trying to prolong, Iraq is determined to attack. I saw the results of this on the northern front. But in the southern province of Maysan the 4th Corps has also liberated territory at 'Shahrani. And the 2d Corps has broken through on the central front, capturing the Iranian district of Mehran, and could break through to the southeast, skirting the mountain chain of Kabir Kuh. On 4 May President Saddam Husayn said that the Iranian Army was free to continue into enemy territory as far as Khorramshahr or Dezful — two big cities in western Iran.

"If that is President Husayn's political decision," Gen Khayrallah told me, "the Iraqi Army will show that, despite the disproportion in armaments, and although they are outnumbered three to one, our forces are capable of taking major prizes on enemy territory. You know, our soldiers are aware that they are really fighting for the survival of their country, which the barbarians want to completely destroy."

[Bonomo] But will these conquests finally force Iran to open the negotiations which Iraq has so far proposed in vain? "If this does not happen, we will continue to fight, with our bare hands if necessary and for 20 years," the minister replied gravely.

[Bonomo] What would you like to do when this war is over, General?

[Khayrallah] Visit our French friends in Paris!

Light Industries Minister Leaves for Helsinki

JN121048 Baghdad Voice of the Masses in Arabic 1000 GMT 12 Jun 86

[Text] Light Industries Minister Tariq Hamad al-'Abdallah left for Helsinki this morning, heading a delegation to attend the meetings of the 18th session of the joint Iraqi-Finnish Committee. The minister told INA that the meetings will strengthen relations in the economic, trade, and technical fields as well as increase the volume of trade between the two countries.

Communique No 2,257 Details Latest Combat Action

JN121647 Baghdad Voice of the Masses in Arabic 1600 GMT 12 Jun 86

[Communique No 2,257 issued by the Armed Forces General Command on 12 June 1986]

[Text] In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. Our Armed Forces, makers of victory, are standing like a juggernaut to destroy the enemy and ward off any danger to the homeland. They are in full control of the operational theater. The following is a roundup of operations for last night and today:

1. Our brave naval forces are affirming their high combat ability to guard our waters and defeat all the enemy's evil designs. Our naval forces sighted an enemy boat trying to advance on one of

our positions. In a daring, brave operation, our men detained the boat and a number of enemy men. Blessed are our naval forces men.

2. Our units in the V Army Corps northern sector opened fire at enemy positions and troop concentrations, killing 28 and wounding others, and destroying one vehicle and one water tank. The enemy was seen evacuating its casualties.

3. Our units in the VII Army Corps front have continued their heroic confrontation of enemy remnants, inflicting the following losses: a. one 106-mm gun was destroyed; b. four ammunition dumps were burned; c. one excavator was destroyed; and 4. one enemy soldier was killed, two ammunition dumps were burned, and five infantry positions were destroyed in the III Army Corps sector east of Al-Basrah. One vehicle laden with ammunition and two gun emplacements were destroyed in the IV Army Corps sector east of Maysan.

5. One heavy-caliber machine gun was destroyed in the I Army Corps northern sector. A machine gun and some ammunition abandoned by the enemy in previous battles were seized and one ammunition dump was destroyed in the II Army Corps central sector. 6. One of our formations in the VI Army Corps sector east of the Tigris opened artillery and mortar fire at enemy positions, destroying 12 infantry positions and killing or wounding their occupants.

7. The evil, criminal gang's forces shelled Khanaqin, Tawilah, and Biyarah with long-range artillery.

8. Escaping the Iranian regime, a number of Iranian civilians sought refuge with our forces and were safely evacuated to the rear.

[Signed] The Armed Forces General Command, 12 June 1986

Reportage on Visit to USSR by Hasan 'Ali

For Soviet reportage on the visit by Trade Minister Hasan 'Ali to Moscow, including a report on his talks with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, see the Middle East & North Africa section of the 13 June Soviet Union *DAILY REPORT* and subsequent issues.

FBIS DAILY REPORT

MIDDLE EAST & SOUTH ASIA REVIEW

13 JUNE 1986

Lebanon

Syrian Vice President 'Ali al-Halim Khaddam met with Prime Minister Rashid Karami, Amal Movement leader Nabih Birri, Progressive Socialist Party head Walid Junblatt, and other Lebanese political and religious leaders in Damascus, Damascus television reported, noting that the talks centered on the situation in Lebanon. Earlier, Damascus radio noted that Khaddam had a meeting with Iranian Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Mohammad 'Ali Besharati, who arrived in Damascus from Beirut following his attempts to effect a cease-fire there. Tehran radio reported that at the meeting Khaddam expressed Syria's appreciation for Iran's efforts in Lebanon which he said Syria had been following "carefully," and voiced the hope that those efforts in concert with Syria's "struggle" would prevent further clashes among Muslims in that country. Regarding bilateral relations, the two officials agreed on the need to continue strengthening Syrian-Iranian ties which are based on "strategic dimensions," according to Damascus radio.

As for the security situation, Voice of Lebanon radio reported a "guarded calm" around the Palestinian camps early 13 June following "violent" fighting between Amal and Palestinian gunmen the previous night which left at least 5 persons dead and 30 others wounded. Earlier, the radio reported that 20 persons were wounded in clashes from late 11 June to midday 12 June. Beirut radio subsequently cited a statement from the Amal Movement's Fifth Section which attributed the renewed fighting to a Palestinian "advance" in Burj al-Barajinah. "Palestinian sources" cited in a later clandestine Radio Free Lebanon report accused Amal and the Lebanese Army's 6th Brigade of preparing to launch an offensive against the camp and divulged that 70 percent of Burj al-Barajinah has been destroyed in the fighting. In an appeal to Arab and Muslim leaders cited by Baghdad Voice of PLO radio, the Palestine Liberation Organization declared that Amal, with the aid of the 6th Brigade, has unleashed a "second phase" of its "aggression" against the Palestinian camps featuring "organized" military attacks and the use of tanks and heavy artillery and rockets.

In a separate development, Voice of Lebanon radio reported that five persons were killed in clashes between Hizballah and the Syrian Social Nationalist Party in Mashgharah township in Al-Biqa' late 12 June and described the atmosphere in the area as "extremely tense." An earlier radio report warned of Syrian intervention in Mashgharah if fighting were to break out.

Libya

"Reliable European sources" disclosed to KUNA that in indirect contacts with Europeans, Libya has expressed a readiness to declare its "neutrality" in the Mediterranean region provided that the U.S.'s West European allies in NATO meet two conditions: specifically, that they pledge not to aid the United States in any future U.S. operation against the Jamahiriyah and that they "officially prevent" the United States from utilizing NATO bases in Europe in the event of military action against Libya. The sources warned that should Europe "disregard this attitude," Libya will "very shortly" announce officially its approval for the establishment of Soviet military bases throughout the Jamahiriyah. Although revealing that the Soviet Union and Libya have reached "full agreement" on the bases, the sources nevertheless claimed that it will be implemented only if Western Europe continues "sitting on the fence" and acting according to U.S. wishes.

In a separate development, in an interview with the Italian agency ANSA, the Libyan ambassador to Italy termed the decision to place the navigation base on Lampedusa Island under Italian control as "very positive," and asserted that no problems exist between the two countries. Commenting on Italian reaction to dispatches carried by JANA, the ambassador admitted that he sometimes "gives no importance" to what the agency says and insisted that the statements carried by it do not emanate from official Libyan quarters.

Iraq-USSR

Iraqi Trade Minister Hasan 'Ali al-Amiri held separate talks with USSR Council of Ministers Deputy Chairman Yakov Ryabov and Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze in Moscow 12 June, INA reported, noting that 'Ali and an accompanying delegation arrived in the Soviet Union the previous day.

Egypt

Foreign Affairs Minister Ahmad 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid held a "frank and constructive" talk with his Czechoslovak counterpart Bohuslav Chnoupek in Prague, the Czechoslovak agency CTK reported, noting that Al-Majid arrived in Czechoslovakia on an official visit the same day.

PLO

PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasir 'Arafat accompanied by committee members Faruq Qaddumi and 'Abd al-Rahim Ahmad paid a "surprise visit" to Morocco 12 June, KUNA reported. The agency subsequently disclosed 13 June that 'Arafat chaired a meeting in Casablanca the previous day of the Palestine National Fund's Administrative Council, during which the Fund's "huge deficit," due to the failure by some Arab states to meet their financial obligations to the PLO, was discussed.

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QNA Reports Agenda for Iraqi-Syrian Ministers Meeting

JN130808 Doha QNA in Arabic 0740 GMT 13 Jun 86

[Text] Abu Dhabi, 13 Jun (QNA) — Arab diplomatic sources in Damascus have said that the agenda of the Iraqi and Syrian foreign ministers, who are scheduled to meet on the border between the two countries today, includes three issues relating to the reopening of the border, pumping Iraqi oil across Syrian territory, and reaching political cooperation.

In statements to the newspaper *AL-ITTIHAD* issued here today, these sources voiced their optimism for the success of the two ministers' meeting. They pointed out that the Iraqi and Syrian leaderships made mutual concessions which might pave the way for a successful meeting between Presidents Hafiz al-Asad and Saddam Husayn.

Italian Party Leader Affirms Support to 'Arafat

JN121856 Baghdad Voice of PLO in Arabic 1718 GMT 12 Jun 86

[Text] Brother Abu 'Ammar [Yasir 'Arafat] met with Mario Capanna, secretary general of the Italian Democratic Party, in Tunis yesterday. They discussed the latest developments in the Palestinian issue and the Middle East situation. Capanna affirmed his party's firm, principled stand in support of our Palestinian people's just struggle under the PLO to regain their legitimate national rights.

'Ugly Aggression' Continues in Beirut Camps

JN121859 Baghdad Voice of PLO in Arabic 1718 GMT 12 Jun 86

[Text] For the 27th consecutive day, the Amal Movement gangs and the Lebanese 6th Brigade are continuing to escalate their ugly aggression against the Palestinian refugee camps in West Beirut. A Palestinian military spokesman said that the Amal gangs last night and this morning intensified their criminal shelling using tanks, heavy artillery, and mortars of various calibers against the Sabra, Shatila, and Burj al-Barajinah refugee camps. Several houses were destroyed and a number of innocent citizens were either martyred or wounded, including a number of children, women, and old people.

PLO Issues Appeal for End to 2d Phase

JN121851 Baghdad Voice of PLO in Arabic 1718 GMT 12 Jun 86

["Text" of PLO "appeal" to Arab and Muslim leaders, Arab masses, and friends in the world; date not given — read by announcer]

[Text] The Amal gangs with the support of the 6th Brigade have begun to implement the second phase of the aggression against the refugee camps in accordance with the design agreed upon between Nabih Birri and Brigadier General Ghazi Kan'an, chief of Syrian intelligence in Lebanon. This new phase began after 27 days of continuous attacks. Yesterday these gangs began to intensify their attacks on the Sabra, Shatila, and Burj al-Barajinah refugee camps by using T-54 and T-55 tanks alongside the Lebanese Army tanks of the 6th Brigade, as well as the heavy field artillery and long-range Grade rockets, which are being fired at the refugee camps from the Syrian forces' positions in Sawfar. This is being done despite all the cease-fire agreements which were reached with the supervision of Algerian President Chadli Bendjedid's envoy and the efforts of Lebanese religious leaders, a number of Lebanese nationalist leaders, and the Algerian Embassy.

The start of this new phase coincided with organized military attacks backed by T-54 and T-55 tanks and the 6th Brigade tanks, as well as intense, heavy artillery shelling of the refugee camps within the framework of a criminal operation which has far-reaching objectives against our kinfolk in the camps to achieve population segregation. The PLO reiterates its appeal to Arab leaders to immediately move and end these new massacres of the Palestinians in their camps, the nationalist Muslims in West Beirut, and the entire Lebanese people. The PLO appeals to its friends in the world to help it end this continuing tragedy of the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples. Moreover, in view of the ugly crimes that are being committed against its people in the refugee camps in Lebanon, the PLO deems it necessary to shoulder its responsibilities in facing this aggression in accordance with the seriousness and development of the situation. At the same time, we reiterate our appeal to the mujahidin brothers from the Shi'ite community, behind whom the Amal Movement is hiding, to exercise their national, pan-Arab, religious, and humanitarian duty and stop these gangs from continuing this ugly crime against their Palestinian brothers who are facing their new Karbala' [8th century battle in which Muslims were massacred] at the hands of those who were supposed to be their brothers and allies. God is a witness to our good intentions. God made it but a message of hope for you, and an assurance to your hearts: In any case there is no help except from God, the exalted, the wise. [Koranic verse]

PLO Radio Details Attacks on Israeli Targets

JN121940 Baghdad Voice of PLO in Arabic 1718 GMT 12 Jun 86

[Text] A military spokesman for the Palestinian Revolution Forces General Command has stated the following: Upon the instructions of the Revolution Command, our heroic revolutionaries are continuing to escalate their heroic operations against the enemy's vital military targets throughout our occupied Palestinian territories, inflicting further losses in life and equipment on it. The following are the details of these operations:

1. One of our groups of fighters operating inside the occupied homeland managed to plant a timed explosive charge near an enemy center in a crowded street in the Ramat Gan settlement near Tel Aviv. The charge exploded yesterday morning, causing extensive damage to the center and killing or wounding a large number of enemy personnel. Despite the occupation forces' armed cordon around the scene of the operation and repressive measures, our group of fighters withdrew safely to base after successfully carrying out its mission.

2. Our heroic revolutionaries managed to plant antiarmor explosive charges on the road leading to the (Midfa') settlement built by the enemy in the occupied West Bank. The charges exploded yesterday as an occupation patrol was passing by. Two military vehicles were damaged, one jeep was destroyed, and all their occupants were either killed or wounded. Immediately afterward, the Zionist security forces rushed to the area and carried out an extensive search for our heroic revolutionaries. However, their efforts were in vain.

3. One of our groups of fighters yesterday launched a hand grenade and incendiary bomb attack on a Zionist military patrol as it passed near the Al-Duhayshah refugee camp near Bethlehem in the occupied West Bank. Two military vehicles were badly damaged and several enemy soldiers were either killed or wounded. The occupation forces besieged the heroic Al-Duhayshah refugee camp, carried out an extensive search, and arrested a large number of citizens on the pretext of being involved in the operation. Despite these arbitrary measures, our group of fighters managed to withdraw safely from the scene of the operation. Revolution until victory.

[Signed] The Palestinian Revolution Forces General Command

KUWAIT

Oil Minister on Output, Planned OPEC Meeting

LD121008 Kuwait KUNA in English 0829 GMT 12 Jun 86

[Text] Kuwait, June 12 (KUNA) — Oil and Industry Minister Shaykh 'Ali al-Khalifah Thursday denied reports that Kuwaiti oil output has reached 1.8 million barrels a day and forecast that prices would settle at about 19 dollars a barrel at the end of this year.

In a statement to Kuwaiti daily *AL-ANBA'*, Shaykh 'Ali expressed optimism towards the outcome of a June 25 meeting of OPEC oil ministers in the Yugoslav island of Brioni.

"The meeting at least would set the outlines of an agreement (on production levels) which we will be reaching after a month or two," the Kuwaiti official noted.

Shaykh 'Ali (?said) oil prices dropped once again recently due to market fluctuation and not because of the convening of the OPEC meeting. He said oil prices rose after the U.S. oil stocks dried and prices decreased once again as the U.S. restocked.

The OPEC ministerial meeting will be preceded by a two-day session on June 23-24 of a five man committee entrusted to contact non-OPEC producing countries on output levels.

The committee, composed of Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Indonesia, Venezuela and Nigeria, met in Al-Ta'if Saudi Arabia, last May 23-25. It reviewed the outcome of contacts with non-OPEC countries to convince them to cut their oil output in a bid to reduce the glut on the world oil market and shore up prices.

The committee is to report to the ministerial conference on the outcome of its contacts, towards which Shaykh 'Ali had expressed satisfaction.

Shaykh 'Ali had told KUNA followed the meeting that Oman, Egypt, Mexico, Malaysia, Brunei and Norway have shown interest in slashing their outputs. He added that OPEC countries were [words indistinct] a fair share of the world oil market, following the organization's repeated sacrifices to defend oil prices.

OMAN

Legal Affairs Minister Receives Message From Tunisia

JN121252 Manama WAKH in Arabic 1144 GMT 12 Jun 86

[Text] Muscat, 12 Jun [WAKH) — Fahd ibn Mahmud al Sa'id, Omani deputy prime minister for legal affairs, has received a written message from Tunisian Prime Minister Mohamed Mzali dealing with bilateral relations.

Abdul Abdelmalek Larif, Tunisia's ambassador to the Sultanate of Oman, delivered the message when he was received by Fahd al-Sa'id here today. During the meeting, they discussed the existing bilateral relations in all fields, as well as the current situation in the Arab and international arenas.

SAUDI ARABIA

Riyadh Views Inter-Arab Rapprochement, Need for Unity

LD121120 Riyadh Domestic Service in Arabic 2000 GMT 11 Jun 86

[Commentary by Husayn al-Ashari]

[Text] His Majesty King Husayn of Jordan has described the Syrian-Iraqi reconciliation encounter due to begin Friday [13 June] as a cornerstone for unifying Arab ranks regarding the question of the conflict with the Israeli enemy, and putting an end to the war between Iraq and Iran.

If at any stage of the Arab nation's history, inter-Arab solidarity constitutes an Arab demand in order to affirm the ties of brotherhood and common destiny, then this solidarity is considered at this delicate stage to be an urgent necessity and an inevitable option to confront the growing challenges and dangers threatening the Arabs, all the Arabs. Needless to say, the absence of solidarity shown in the marginal quarrels of the Arab scene has been a source of concern for all Arab nations. All realize the importance of a unity of ranks and are calling for it and are not resigned to allow disputes to prevail in lieu of solidarity. This attitude has formed a rich platform for all the Arab moves aimed at bringing ranks together, and which resulted in bringing brothers closer together.

In speaking of efforts for Arab unity, an observer appreciatively records the role played by the Kingdom under the leadership of His Majesty Fahd ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz, proceeding from its historic reponsibility to bring brothers closer together and to lay down the foundations of an effective inter-Arab solidarity aimed at serving the higher Arab interest and common issues.

The Kingdom, through the efforts expanded by his highness the crown prince and the directives of his majesty the king, has been able to affirm this fact. The result was the Syrian-Jordanian rapprochement. The normalization of the situation between Jordan and Syria is the natural outcome of the Saudi leadership's sincerity and its realization of the requirements of the current stage which is witnessing an escalation in dangers and threats and attempts by the nation's enemies to divide its ranks.

The Syrian-Jordanian rapprochement argues well for the Arab nation, is a new page in its history and a positive turning point in its march, and has allowed the sun of solidarity to shine once again in the Arab skies. This encouraged the sincere among the sons of this nation to secure a Syrian-Iraqi rapprochement which undoubtedly will be one of the strong pillars of Arab solidarity, a prominent landmark on the Arab scene, and a turning point for the good of Arab and Islamic issues prime among them being the Palestinian question and the efforts aimed at halting the Iraqi-Iranian war.

The point is that inter-Arab rapprochement and solidarity are capable of undermining the Israeli enemy's hopes of swallowing the occupied lands in the absence of inter-Arab solidarity. This rapprochement undoubtedly helps in finding essential support points and opens up fresh scopes toward the settlement of the

Iraqi-Iranian war which has weakened the Arab and Islamic body with its fire, gives Israel the opportunity to fish in troubled waters and to step up its aggression against the Arab nation.

Assuredly, all Arabs view rapprochement and solidarity within the Arab nation, and the dropping of inter-Arab disputes, as the end of the stage of inter-Arab estrangement, and as arguing well for this nation which looks forward to similar encounters in the Arab Maghreb so that inter-Arab solidarity may be complete, a matter which the Israeli enemy has long banked on as never materializing.

Waldheim Election Hailed as Fighting Foreign Pressure

PM12:535 Riyadh AL-JAZIRAH in Arabic 10 Jun 86 p 3

[Editorial: "Salutations to the People Who Rejected Zionist Pressures"]

[Text] Just as expected, Dr Kurt Waldheim has won the Austrian presidential elections. The victory of the former UN secretary general should not be looked upon only as a personal victory for Waldheim but also a great victory for the Austrian people who have rejected foreign pressures and the hostile campaign which the Zionist quarters waged against him. This campaign is not based on any objective facts; rather, as even those involved in it know, it is a kind of belated punishment for this man, who throughout the time he shouldered the responsibility of the secretariat of the world's most important organization, was an example of integrity and discipline. He was an effective man and a man of international reconciliation. He fought on several fronts in the interest of humanity; he was the number one supporter of international efforts for disarmament; and he was the man who supported the just causes of oppressed countries and peoples. This was symbolized in his stand against Israeli aggression against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples and his fight against the racist regime in South Africa. It was this splendid record of Waldheim's history during the time he was the number one UN official that caused fury among the Zionists and their associates and was the reason for their ferocious campaign against him. The methods we have seen were not intended for Waldheim alone but were also to serve as a warning and caution to all international officials who may dare to do what Waldheim did.

Waldheim's courage, integrity, and just stand are matched only by the courage and justice of the Austrian people who put their trust in this man despite the pressures during the elections and the pressures that will be put on Austria after his election. Salutations to the Austrian people who did not weaken before threats and inducements of the Zionists and their allies. Salutations to the man who has become president of Austria with the desire of the Austrian people alone.

Hospital States Somali President Continues To Improve

GF111219 Riyadh Domestic Service in Arabic 1130 GMT 11 Jun 86

[Text] The Armed Forces Hospital in Riyadh has stated that the health of Somali President Muhamed Siad Barre is continuing its fast improvement and that he is in excellent condition. This came in a medical bulletin issued by the hospital today. The bulletin added that the president receives visitors from 1000 to 1100 each day.

UAE

Papers Comment on Iraqi-Syrian Meeting Due 13 Jun

JN120731 Abu Dhabi WAM in Arabic 0630 GMT 12 Jun 86

[Excerpts] Abu Dhabi, 12 Jun (WAM) — In their comments today, three local papers expressed the hope that the meeting, which is scheduled to take place between the Iraqi and Syrian foreign ministers tomorrow, would be a new turning point in the Arab march.

AL-ITTIHAD describes the two ministers' meeting as an important turning point in the history of the relations between the two countries and a new beginning on the path to restore normal relations between the two countries.

AL-BAYAN, which is published in Dubayy, expresses optimism over the meeting and says the two ministers will not be alone, but will be backed by the hearts of 170 million Arabs, who are praying to God that the meeting will result in agreement and will pave the way for a bigger meeting at the summit level.

AL-WAHDAH notes the significance of the meeting which, it says, has been awaited for a long time. The meeting, it adds, is significant not only on the Iraqi and Syrian level, but also on the Arab level. The paper says that the Syrian-Iraqi dispute has hampered many efforts to achieve a minimum level of Arab solidarity in view of the two countries' influence on Arab events.

Abu Ghazalah Leaves for Washington, London
NC120912 Cairo MENA in Arabic 0815 GMT 12 Jun 86

[Text] Cairo, 12 Jun (MENA) — Field Marshal Muhammad 'Abd al-Halim Abu Ghazalah, deputy prime minister and minister of defense and war production, left Cairo this morning for the United States, where he will have talks on military cooperation between the two countries. He will begin talks on Monday with U.S. Vice President George Bush, Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, Secretary of State George Shultz, and National Security Adviser John Poindexter.

Abu Ghazalah will meet with several members of the Senate and House of Representatives. He will stay in the United States until Thursday and will then leave for London for talks with British Government officials.

Ghali, Italian Ambassador Discuss Mideast Issues
NC121537 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1440 GMT 12 Jun 86

[Text] Cairo, 12 Jun (MENA) — Dr Butrus Ghali, minister of state for foreign affairs, met today with Italian ambassador in Cairo, (Giovanni Migliolo).

Bilateral relations and cooperation in various fields were discussed during the meeting. They also discussed current developments and European positions toward issues in the Middle East.

Ghali, French Ambassador Discuss S. Africa Sanctions
NC121556 Cairo MENA in Arabic 1455 GMT 12 Jun 86

[Excerpt] Cairo, 12 Jun (MENA) — During his meeting today with French Ambassador in Cairo Pierre Hunt, Dr Butrus Ghali, minister of state for foreign affairs, asserted that Egypt will spare no effort to help impose international deterrent sanctions on the racist government in South Africa during the international conference, which will convene in Paris next Monday.

Dr Ghali reiterated Egypt's condemnation of the policy adopted by the racist government in South Africa and its criminal and inhumane actions against the African natives, who are the original owners of the land. He also stressed Egypt's condemnation of South African aggression against the Frontline States, particularly the aggression on Angola within the past few hours.

Dr Ghali discussed with the French ambassador the various issues related to the international conference on South Africa, which will be hosted by France under the auspices of the United Nations, the nonaligned group, and the OAU.

Saudi Oil Minister Yamani Ends Visit, Departs
NC121429 Cairo MENA in English 1350 GMT 12 Jun 86

[Text] Cairo, June 12 (MENA) — Ahmad Zaki Yamani, Saudi minister of petroleum, left here today at the end of his one-day visit to Egypt.

AL-AHRAM on 'Conventional' U.S. Mideast Policy
NC130537 Cairo MENA in Arabic 2110 GMT 12 Jun 86

[Text] Cairo, 12 Jun (MENA) — In its edition which will appear tomorrow, Friday, Cairo daily *AL-AHRAM* comments on information leaked after the talks between King Husayn of Jordan and U.S. President Ronald Reagan. The news is that there is a possibility that U.S. officials such as Vice President George Bush and Secretary of State George Shultz will be visiting certain Middle East countries to try and break the current deadlock in the peace process.

The paper says that the U.S. Administration is still faithful to its conventional style in its approach to the deteriorating situation in the Middle East. This style, the paper declares, depends on the application of such palliatives and sedatives as sending envoys of varied ranks to the region. The United States must understand, the paper says, that palliatives and sedatives no longer have any value in terms of boosting the peace process or creating the right atmosphere for negotiations.

The paper calls on the United States to take the initiative by proposing a plan of action that will lead to a way out of the current impasse. Washington, the paper says, has ample leverage it can apply to spur the parties concerned on and get them to sit down at the negotiating table. Most of all, *AL-AHRAM* adds, the United States can bring pressure to bear on Israel to give up its hard line and meet Palestinian moderates half way. Israel, the paper says, should meet the responsibilities and duties of peace.

Time is running out and the present stalemate is making the crisis worse. This helps no one except those who want to see continued instability in the region, along with the favorable atmosphere for increasing terrorism and instability worldwide that this creates, *AL-AHRAM* concludes.

'Brotherly' Syrian-Iranian Meeting in Damascus Noted

JN121539 Baghdad Voice of the Masses in Arabic 1500 GMT 12 Jun 86

[Text] Damascus — 'Abd al-Halim Khaddam, vice president of the Syrian regime, met with Mohammad 'Ali Besharati, deputy foreign minister of the Iranian regime, here today. The Syrian regime's media described the talks at this meeting as brotherly, aimed at entrenching the existing ties between the two regimes.

Citing the Syrian regime's news agency, REUTER says that the officials of the two regimes affirmed during their talks the need to continue and promote their relations in the various fields.

It may be mentioned that the Syrian and Tripoli regimes are permanent allies of the Khomeyni regime in its war of aggression against Iraq and have been extending various kinds of support and equipment to this regime and sending experts to it. Reliable reports have indicated that the bodies of 18 Syrian and Libyan experts arrived in Damascus and Tripoli after being killed on the warfront. [words indistinct]

Saddam Husayn Chairs General Command Meeting

JN121232 Baghdad Voice of the Masses in Arabic 1200 GMT 12 Jun 86

[Text] Staff Marshal Saddam Husayn, commander in chief of the Armed Forces, chaired a meeting of the Armed Forces General Command yesterday. The meeting was attended by Staff General 'Adnan Khayrallah, deputy commander in chief of the Armed Forces and defense minister; and Staff General 'Abd al-Jabbar Shanshal, minister of state for military affairs.

'Aziz Interviewed on French Visit, Syrian Dialogue

JN111914 Paris Radio Monte Carlo in Arabic 1746 GMT 11 Jun 86

[Interview with Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq 'Aziz in Paris by Antoine Nawfal — recorded; date not given]

[Text] [Antoine Nawfal] Mr Tariq 'Aziz, it is no longer a secret that your current visit to France was crowned with success. This is taken for granted. This visit has underlined the continuity of French-Iraqi relations. Jacques Chirac described these relations by saying they are relations between two allied states and are not subject to material and Machiavellian interests. This is how Chirac described them. Now how does Tariq 'Aziz describe them?

[Tariq 'Aziz] I agree with His Excellency Jacques Chirac's description of the nature of Iraqi-French relations. These relations were not basically based on commercial principles, although they included within their framework large-scale commercial relations and this is natural in view of the reciprocal benefits inherent in relations between Iraq and France. The far- sighted political concept which stems from a genuine desire for independence and honest international cooperation made us establish distinguished relations with France. Mr Jacques Chirac contributed to building these relations with President Saddam Husayn when the president was an RCC vice chairman and when Chirac was a prime minister in the mid-seventies. Relations continued over the years. With his return to power he affirms a fact which has become entrenched in the minds of official leaders of both sides.

[Nawfal] It was noted that this visit has taken on an extraordinary nature in view of the size of the meetings held and the figures with whom you met, headed by the president of the Republic and the prime minister, in addition to banquets held at the External Relations Ministry and the Prime Ministry. Thus, this visit has exceeded what we have become familiar with regarding the so-called working visit. Why, in your opinion, was there this extraordinary nature? Is it a visit of a state to another state?

['Aziz] I am thankful for the welcome accorded to me by the French Government during my stay in Paris. The manifestations marking this visit reflect the nature of the close relations between our two countries. I cannot describe it as a visit by a state to another state because I am a foreign minister and my president's envoy conveying Iraq's views on issues of common concern for Iraq and France. I think that the French side behaved in this regard in a manner reflecting the nature of relations between our two countries and we are grateful for that.

[Nawfal] Regarding the exchange of visits, will Chirac visit Iraq? Has he promised to visit Iraq shortly?

['Aziz] I have conveyed an invitation to President Francois Mitterrand and Prime Minister Jacques Chirac to visit Iraq. They promised to comply with it at an appropriate time.

[Nawfal] Is it possible to say that French-Iraqi relations are too strong to be affected by one of the two sides' relations with a third party, and I mean the resumption of dialogue between Paris and Tehran?

['Aziz] Yes, I agree with you. Our bilateral relations will not be affected by the relations any one of us establishes with a third party. I was clear in commenting on this subject, whether in the meetings I had with French officials or in my statements to the French press. We do not object to normal relations between France and Iran. We respect France as a friendly country and respect its political options. As long as relations between France and Iran are not directed against Iraq — and they are not — we have no negative opinion about them.

[Nawfal] You have previously described this visit as political. What is meant by a political visit? Does it mean briefing the French ally on everything? For example, on the resumption of Iraqi-Syrian dialogue? What is the latest on this dialogue?

['Aziz] I was careful to emphasize the political nature of the visit because I was asked several questions, such as what I requested from the French Government, and questions were raised on financial and military affairs. In fact, basically I did not come to Paris to discuss details of financial, military, and other relations. I came to follow up things. I have no new requests. Matters in these two domains are proceeding normally.

It is natural when I come to this country as a politician to talk about political affairs, whether bilateral affairs or those pertaining to the situation in our region. France is interested in the Middle East and the Gulf region as well as in Iraqi opinions. We are also interested in French opinions. We have been exchanging opinions and analyses about these affairs for several years.

[Nawfal] What is the latest regarding Iraqi-Syrian dialogue?

['Aziz] Actually, His Majesty King Husayn is conducting a sincere, pan-Arab effort to resolve the problems between Iraq and Syria. This effort is continuing. However, we have not yet arrived at any result.

[Nawfal] However, King Husayn affirmed to *THE WASHINGTON POST* that you will meet with the Syrian foreign minister the day after tomorrow, Friday, somewhere on the borders.

['Aziz] God willing.

[Nawfal] Friday, God willing?

['Aziz] God willing.

[Nawfal] Why did Iraq insist in the past on the presence of a third party, while Syria rejected such a party?

['Aziz] I do not know why the Syrian side rejected that formula. However, I can explain the reasons for our demand for our brothers' presence at such meetings. In our view, when a fraternal side mediates between two disputing Arab countries it would be useful for such a side to at least attend their preliminary meetings. There is also the issue of accuracy in reporting on meetings. This is also important because we have to be accurate among ourselves and with our brothers regarding what we want and do not want in expressing our opinions and stands. These are the reasons prompting us to encourage such a formula. However, when any side desires a certain formula for reasons of his own, we do not reject such a formula because our objective is to reach agreement.

[Nawfal] Do you frankly believe that this meeting will produce any results and, if so, in what field, or is it a face-saving meeting as far as King Husayn is concerned?

['Aziz] No. As far as we are concerned it is not a face- saving meeting. We deeply believe in the need to establish normal relations between all Arab countries, especially the countries in our region. We have common concerns, interests, and security issues. Naturally, we have to have accord. It would be unnatural not to have accord. When there is an opportunity to meet, exchange views, discuss the situation, and agree on sound bases for meetings and cooperation, we must seize this opportunity to arrive at the objective which we seek and in which we believe.

[Nawfal] Is there a possiblity that oil will start being pumped across Syrian territory once again?

['Aziz] Actually I cannot comment on this because we have not yet embarked on the first step. It is not possible to talk about subsequent steps when we have not yet embarked on the first step.

[Nawfal] However, can we regard this as one of the aims of the meeting?

['Aziz] As far as we are concerned, we aim to establish normal relations in all fields with Syria and Libya. Our relations with Syria have not been normal. We believe that it would be useful to us and Syria and the Arab nation to have normal relations with Syria. Thus, there are details regarding the interpretation of normal relations between two countries — diplomatic, economic, trade, and other details. These details can be discussed afterward by the concerned sides.

[Nawfal] Will this meeting have an impact on the situation in Lebanon, especially in regard to the current battles in the refugee camps?

['Aziz] Actually I do not wish to raise great hopes in a meeting which has not taken place and whose outcome cannot be predicted. We have to wait.

[Nawfal] The Lebanese situation must have been raised during your meeting with President Amin al-Jumayyil in Bucharest. Now can you described that meeting in general?

['Aziz] We undoubtedly discussed the situation in Lebanon in depth. The situation in Lebanon greatly concerns us and we are pained at the continuing tragedy in Lebanon. I affirmed to His Excellency President Amin al-Jumayyil that Iraq will always strongly support Lebanon's unity, security, and stability. We did not discuss practical details because the meeting was a coincidence as I have said. However, I conveyed a clear message from the Iraqi leadership to his excellency. I also briefed him on the situation at the front and Iraq's preparedness to defend itself. His excellency expressed sympathy with the Iraqi stand.

[Nawfal] What is the news from the front?

['Aziz] The news from the front is very good. Our forces are fighting with competence, courage, and capability. They are in control of the situation on the ground, at sea, and in the air. The Iranians are feeling more and more that their adventures and expansionist policies against Iraq are costing them a heavy price in serious and tangible ways, not only on the level of human losses — and this is an aspect to which they do not give much attention — but also on other vital levels. They should learn an eloquent lesson from Iraq's decision to regain the initiative at the front.

[Nawfal] Attempts are being made to hold an extraordinary Arab summit. Iraq supports such a summit, but do you think that the current circumstances are appropriate for a summit?

['Aziz] We support holding regular Arab meetings whether on the level of ministers or a summit. During the Arab League Council's meeting in Tunis in March, Iraq was one of those stressing the need to hold an Arab summit as soon as possible. This summit has somehow been delayed, but we will continue to work for holding a summit. We believe that circumstances are always appropriate for holding a summit. When circumstances are good we must meet; when circumstances are bad we must also meet in order to change them.

[Nawfal] The circumstances then are always appropriate.

['Aziz] They must be so. We have a theory and a profound belief that Arab meetings should be regular, as is the case with all world groups. In Europe, here for instance, they meet continuously and regularly although they have many differences. A meeting is the framework through which differences can be dealt with. We believe in this and say Arab countries must meet regularly within the framework of the Arab League Council on the level of ministers and within the framework of a summit on the level of heads of state. Arab officials should discuss and resolve their problems at these meetings.

[Nawfal] Thank you.

['Aziz] Thank you very much.

Commanders, Defense Minister Cited on War With Iran

PM121351 Paris LE FIGARO MAGAZINE in French 7-13 Jun 86 pp 120-121

[Jacques Bonomo Report: "I Saw the Iraqi Army Attacking Along the Whole Front"]

[Text] "We have recaptured 801, 901, and 1094, 1108, and 1488; we started with 2142, 1904 and many others...." Near the Shameran peak in northeast Iraq in the region of (Chouarta), which is more like the Scottish highlands than Western Asia, Brigadier General Isma'il 'Abd al-Qadir, commander in chief of the sector, proudly pointed out to me the steep mountains recaptured by his victorious troops. On this front held by the Iraqi 1st Army Corps, as along the 1,400km of Iraqi-Iranian border, from the Turkish border to the waters of the Arabian Gulf, the Iraqi Army has moved onto the attack.

You sink up to your heels in the muddy ground which the rain somnetimes turns into a quagmire. Soldiers are extracting from the mud the pieces of equipment left after the Iranian defeat. Rifles, machine guns, 60-mm and 81-mm mortars, and RPG7 rocket launchers will be added to the piles of booty in the rear: Soviet-, Israeli-, or American-made equipment. On a gun emplacement the debris from an Iranian 106-mm gun which suffered a direct hit is mingled with the remains of the gunners....

"They are very hard, very brave enemies," the general told me. "The Iranian regular Army knows how to fight and takes calculated risks. But the crazy ones are the "revolution guards." They are completely hypnotized by the mullahs and launch suicide attacks, not caring about the losses...."

Moreover, the Iranian mullahs stop at nothing to turn the poor people they recruit into fanatics. All the intelligence services report the illuminated horseman (like a Midnight Cowboy) which the Iranian villagers and soldiers have seen riding at night over the hills on the border. "It is the prophet 'Ali come to guide our invasion of Iraq!" the mullahs cried. And the fighters in the "Holy War" hurled themselves into the attack. They were going to a massacre. There were 12-year old children wearing the key to paradise around their necks. And perhaps they were carrying the little home-made pistol — a ludicrous little popgun firing one shot, whose tiny toy-like butt has a pink plastic ribbon round it....

From the rainy, misty, muddy heights of our observation point, we came down the next day by a red and white path hewn out of the side of the mountain by the engineers using explosives and bulldozers. You feel a strange embarrassment, almost shame, whenever you leave frontline troops in their precarious shelters while you return to the security and comfort of the rear, down in the plain....

We returned to the spartan comfort of the campaign headquarters. The only luxury are the splendid rugs which cover the barrack floors. And there was also the luxury of the mess, where I found the legendary mustache of the deputy commander of the 1st Army Corps, which holds this zone: General Muhammad Salih, formerly military attache in Paris. "Here on the northern front of Sulaymaniyah province, which you are the first to visit, the Iranians occupied many high strategic points on Iraqi territory after their major attacks in 1983. That enabled their artillery fire to hit the whole area you saw from up there. Now, since our last attacks, it is our guns which are crushing the enemy's front and rear lines on Iranian territory."

Complete Confidence in its Air Supremacy

And here, as elsewhere, with methodical and powerful thrusts Iraq has begun to loosen the enemy's hold. Infantry and paratroopers — troops of impressive bearing and appearance — have launched assaults and even engaged in hand-to-hand fighting. Fighting alongside them were the light battalions of daunting Kurdish volunteers from this region who formerly rebelled agianst the Baghdad central government. Their presence alongside the regular Iraqi Army in the joint effort to reconquer national territory symbolizes the unity of the rebuilt country behind Saddam Husayn and the Ba'th Party.

Another comfort to which we returned was the plush helicopter, which took us to the snow- and cloud-covered mountains, then flew over the spurs and jagged ridges before emerging over the vast grayish-yellow plain. Down there to the north was Irbil battlefield, where Alexander the Great routed Darius' Persian troops. Straight ahead of us the huge flames of the Kirkuk flares reminded us of Iraq's main source of wealth: oil. Then we turned 25 degrees left and headed south. And between the Tigris and Euphrates, with palm trees as far as you can see, so dense that the star-shaped tops of the trees, framed in the helicopter porthole, were at times reminiscent of the strange aquatic vegetation deep under the sea.... Baghdad finally appeared, brightly lit now that night had fallen. There is no blackout or passive defense for this capital of a country at war. But there is complete confidence in its air supremacy.

That was confirmed to me by Defense Minister General 'Adnan Khayrallah. But, in that case, how had the Al-Faw pocket not been defeated, and how were the Iranians still entrenched there?

"They are not entrenched, but trapped," the minister replied. "When they launched their great attack in the night of 9 February, their intention was to catch our forces in a pincer movement and cut off the 3d Iraqi Army Corps (east of Basra) from the 7th Corps (responsible for the Shatt al-'Arab). In 4 days they occu-

pied 60 percent of Umm al-Rasas island and created a pocket 20km by 10km. Now, after our counterattacks and our bombing raids, the enemy is locked in a pocket 8km by 6km."

[Bonomo] Can you put a figure on the Iranian losses?

[Khayrallah] I recently announced that they amounted to 12 divisions, in other words 70 percent of the forces used, and this has been confirmed to us by the prisoners. All they have now in this small area are three or four divisions of "Revolution guards" and two brigades of the 21st Division, whose lines of communication and supply have been destroyed. I can tell you, and through you all our French friends, that the enemy's situation in this net is desperate. He will lose thousands of men and will withdraw from our territory. [Khayrallah ends]

His tone was calm and determined, in keeping with his square jaw, thin black mustache, and straight hair. He looks like a war leader, as does President Saddam Husayn, who is shown in combat dress on huge allegorical posters in all the streets of Baghdad. But why did Iraq give the impression of being entirely on the defensive until the past few days?

[Khayrallah] First, because we are careful with the lives of our soldiers, whose heroism must not be wasted. Second, because President Saddam Husayn had the political desire to prove to world public opinion that Iraq was not waging a war of aggression, unlike Khomeyni. Iraq was anxious to respect the Arab League agreements adopted at the Algiers conference — agreements which advocated helping Iraq to end the fighting and start negotiations.

[Bonomo] Do all the Arab countries agree on that?

[Khayrallah] Unfortuntely, it must be admitted that they do not! At present Syria and Libya support the Iranians and have openly been their political and military allies for a long time. For example, the bombing of our territory, like the raid on Al-Walid (in western Iraq) in 1982, was only possible if the Iranian planes used Syrian bases or were refueled in flight by planes from that country. Their radius of action did not enable them to take off from Iranian bases and return there. In addition, one particular Gulf country with a large Iranian community is giving economic aid to Khomeyni in the form of food, transport and black market products.... [Khayrallah ends]Gen Khayrallah deliberately did not name that country. But it is not difficult to recognize it as the emirate of Dubayy.

"However," the minister continued, "the other Gulf countries are aware that Iraq is acting as a shield. And they know that Iraq alone protects them against the Iranian desire to control the islands and the Gulf. Things have not changed since the Shah's days, and there is a constant historical antagonism between Persians and Arabs which has been going on for 12 centuries.... Would it not be preferable for this threat to recede? Would it not be preferable for money to be available for productive investments? Would it not be preferable for development to be resumed?"

Moreover, it is surprising for the visitor to note the extent to which development work and the country's modernization are continuing despite the burden of a war which has cost $12 billion per year for 5 years.

So, to shorten this conflict which the ayatollah's bellicosity is trying to prolong, Iraq is determined to attack. I saw the results of this on the northern front. But in the southern province of Maysan the 4th Corps has also liberated territory at 'Shahrani. And the 2d Corps has broken through on the central front, capturing the Iranian district of Mehran, and could break through to the southeast, skirting the mountain chain of Kabir Kuh. On 4 May President Saddam Husayn said that the Iranian Army was free to continue into enemy territory as far as Khorramshahr or Dezful — two big cities in western Iran.

"If that is President Husayn's political decision," Gen Khayrallah told me, "the Iraqi Army will show that, despite the disproportion in armaments, and although they are outnumbered three to one, our forces are capable of taking major prizes on enemy territory. You know, our soldiers are aware that they are really fighting for the survival of their country, which the barbarians want to completely destroy."

[Bonomo] But will these conquests finally force Iran to open the negotiations which Iraq has so far proposed in vain? "If this does not happen, we will continue to fight, with our bare hands if necessary and for 20 years," the minister replied gravely.

[Bonomo] What would you like to do when this war is over, General?

[Khayrallah] Visit our French friends in Paris!

Light Industries Minister Leaves for Helsinki

JN121048 Baghdad Voice of the Masses in Arabic 1000 GMT 12 Jun 86

[Text] Light Industries Minister Tariq Hamad al-'Abdallah left for Helsinki this morning, heading a delegation to attend the meetings of the 18th session of the joint Iraqi-Finnish Committee. The minister told INA that the meetings will strengthen relations in the economic, trade, and technical fields as well as increase the volume of trade between the two countries.

Communique No 2,257 Details Latest Combat Action

JN121647 Baghdad Voice of the Masses in Arabic 1600 GMT 12 Jun 86

[Communique No 2,257 issued by the Armed Forces General Command on 12 June 1986]

[Text] In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate. Our Armed Forces, makers of victory, are standing like a juggernaut to destroy the enemy and ward off any danger to the homeland. They are in full control of the operational theater. The following is a roundup of operations for last night and today:

1. Our brave naval forces are affirming their high combat ability to guard our waters and defeat all the enemy's evil designs. Our naval forces sighted an enemy boat trying to advance on one of

our positions. In a daring, brave operation, our men detained the boat and a number of enemy men. Blessed are our naval forces men.

2. Our units in the V Army Corps northern sector opened fire at enemy positions and troop concentrations, killing 28 and wounding others, and destroying one vehicle and one water tank. The enemy was seen evacuating its casualties.

3. Our units in the VII Army Corps front have continued their heroic confrontation of enemy remnants, inflicting the following losses: a. one 106-mm gun was destroyed; b. four ammunition dumps were burned; c. one excavator was destroyed; and 4. one enemy soldier was killed, two ammunition dumps were burned, and five infantry positions were destroyed in the III Army Corps sector east of Al-Basrah. One vehicle laden with ammunition and two gun emplacements were destroyed in the IV Army Corps sector east of Maysan.

5. One heavy-caliber machine gun was destroyed in the I Army Corps northern sector. A machine gun and some ammunition abandoned by the enemy in previous battles were seized and one ammunition dump was destroyed in the II Army Corps central sector. 6. One of our formations in the VI Army Corps sector east of the Tigris opened artillery and mortar fire at enemy positions, destroying 12 infantry positions and killing or wounding their occupants.

7. The evil, criminal gang's forces shelled Khanaqin, Tawilah, and Biyarah with long-range artillery.

8. Escaping the Iranian regime, a number of Iranian civilians sought refuge with our forces and were safely evacuated to the rear.

[Signed] The Armed Forces General Command, 12 June 1986

Reportage on Visit to USSR by Hasan 'Ali

For Soviet reportage on the visit by Trade Minister Hasan 'Ali to Moscow, including a report on his talks with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, see the Middle East & North Africa section of the 13 June Soviet Union *DAILY REPORT* and subsequent issues.

ation table. It is tragic that the state president has not gone a great deal further than he had thus far gone towards creating the circumstances in which negotiations can take place. Had the state president done what he has already done much sooner, and had he already gone on to do that whch now cannot be done, he may well not have had to declare the state of emergency at this time. I call on every South African — black and white — and of whatever political persuasion, to recognise that history itself calls on our country to be calm and to break the upward spiralling of violence. And I call on all people of goodwill not to plunge our country into the final confrontation between black and white from which none will emerge as victors. I call on the state president to lift the state of emergency as soon as he possibly can and now to understand that just as those who are calling for revolutionary violence will fail to bring about a new South Africa, states of emergency will not do so either."

EEC Embassies To Close 16 Jun

MB130701 Umtata Capital Radio in English 0500 GMT 13 Jun 86

[Text] EEC member states with embassies in South Africa are to close them on 16 June in a signal of protest to the South African Government. A West German Foreign Ministry spokesman says the action, timed to coincide with Monday's 10th anniversary of the Soweto student revolt, has been unanimously approved by political directors of the 12 EEC states meeting in The Hague. He describes it as a double signal of protest against the apartheid system and the imposition of a state of emergency. Of the EEC states, only Luxembourg, Denmark, and Ireland do not have embassies in South Africa.

BBC Interviews EPG's Malcolm Fraser

MB122033 London BBC World Service in English 1309 GMT 12 Jun 86

[From the "24 Hours" program presented by Hugh Pricey-Jones]

[Excerpts] [Pricey-Jones] With only 4 days to go until the 10th anniversary of the Soweto riots, the South African Government has underlined the determination to stop any public commemoration of the event. As you have heard in the news, President Botha's declaration of a state of emergency has been accompanied by wholesale arrests of trade unionists, clergymen and political activists. At the *NEW NATION* newspaper, for instance, the entire staff was arrested after a 2-hour siege. A telex message from the office warned the editor in time that it was surrounded.

[Pricey-Jones] Well, the report of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group on South Africa published in London today recommends, as you have heard, strong economic measures, sanctions in a word, against the republic, and besides, in Brussels yesterday, the retiring EEC president also warned Pretoria that it is running out of time. In the U.S. Congress this week, the House's Foreign Affairs Committee voted to support planned U.S. sanctions. So, with sanctions clearly on the horizon, when Johan Timpson spoke to Mr Malcolm Fraser, former Australian prime minister who is cochairman of the EPG, he asked him how widespread would sanctions be if the Commonwealth decided to impose them.

[Begin recording] [Fraser] The countries with trade weight are obviously the ones of importance, and that is the United States, Britain, Germany, and one or two other European countries low down the list. There is no doubt that countries like Australia and Canada and many other Commonwealth countries are going to take whether we use the world measures or sanctions, I don't suppose it matters very much, and I will think quite severe ones, but it is the major countries with trade weight with South Africa that will be significant.

[Timpson] So, you disagree with the British Government's views that sanctions would not work?

[Fraser] Yes we do, but we point out that quite persuasion over many years has failed, a negotiating attempt in spite of the most detailed and painstaking efforts was never accepted by the South African Government even though we strongly believed, and they knew it, that the African leadership would have accepted the negotiating concept that we put forward. You see, the central part of the concept involved the release of political prisoners, it involved getting the troops out of the townships, and they are an immense provocation as we saw with our own eyes. It involved the suspension of trials, of detentions for long periods without trial, and it involved allowing a free political debate. Now on the black side, it also involved the suspension of violence, and these things, we thought, would be announced contemporaneously, at the same time, and if the black leadership was to suspend violence, it would need people like Nelson and Oliver Tambo and Buthelezi and others in the country able to move around freely and say: Look, we are going to have a negotiation, let us [words indistinct], let us stop this violence. How can Nelson Mandela do that from within jail? One of the real problems is that in all their talks with us about democracy and apartheid being dead, ministers emphasized that future political rights or economic rights for black people would be exercised through their own racial groups. Now, if that was the only thing they were prepared to negotiate, it is quite plain that they wanted apartheid to continue but in a different form. [end recording]

Commentary on Need for 'Showdown' With Radicals

MB130524 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 13 Jun 86

[Station commentary]

[Text] This column, comment, has consistently pleaded for a sober and balanced perspective throughout the past year or two of organised unrest and violence in South Africa. It has pushed for purposeful progress in the reform programme, both as a humanitarian imperative and as a condition for a secure future for the country at the same time it has warned that there can be no democratic progress while lawlessness and intimidation prevail in many parts of South Africa. A dispensation in which individual rights are respected, economic welfare is promoted and political aspirations are met, depends first and foremost on a foundation of stability under the law.

That editorial standpoint provides the context in which we evaluate the proclamation of a general state of emergency. Throughout this period the radical offensive against peaceful reform has grown more and more dangerous. The time has come to call a halt to it, to put an end to the depredations of the anti-democratic forces whose actions will surely destroy all that is best about this country and its peoples. It is time to move against organised gangs of murderers and intimidators, looters and petrol bombers — the subverters of all standards of common human decency.

Talking, as a tactic, has not worked. The hope that such elements might be drawn into a more constructive approach to resolving problems by an attitude of conciliation, a readiness to discuss and act on problems, and evidence of continued progress in reform, has not been realised. All that has happened is in that the radicals have been encouraged to overestimate their power and adopt increasingly intransigent standpoints.

If South Africa has learned anything in the last two years it is that the democratic approach only works with people who believe in the values of democracy. In dealing with anti-democratic forces, applying the techniques of democratic politics — negotiation in a spirit of compromise — is self-defeating. Those forces simply exploit such a situation to strengthen their own position in the campaign of violent confrontation on which they are launched.

It is a foregone conclusion that effective action against the radicals will evoke strong reaction abroad. There will be dire threats of sanctions and worse and quite possibly South Africa will be the target of certain punitive actions. Of course all this is going on anyway, as the report of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group and the sanctions resolution in the American House of Representatives demonstrate: It is a moot point whether there is any correlation at all between anti-South African campaigning abroad and what actually happens inside the country. But for South Africans this is a time for sorting out basic priorities. They must not be expected to be willing to sacrifice their country for the sake of the compound of lies, expediency and power politics that is international opinion.

The vast majority of South Africans, of all communities, are not prepared to see this country turned into another Third World totalitarian state, robbing its people of possessions, prospects and dignity to maintain a self-servicing elite. All reasonable people must see that the time has come for a showdown with the forces of anarchy and revolution, and a united stand in forging a peaceful and stable dispensation in which the values they hold dear will be truly protected.

Pik Botha Evaluates Recommendations of EPG

MB121452 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1451 GMT 12 Jun 86

[Text] Cape Town, June 12, SAPA — The South African Government would find it very difficult to allow the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group [EPG] back into the country if their recommendation of sanctions were to be applied, the minister of foreign affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said today. At a press conference following the publishing of the EPG's report, he said he did not see that the EPG had finally closed down the possibility of continuing its work. Asked whether the initiative could be continued, he said: "The South African Government would welcome any effort or attempt at ending the violence or facilitating dialogue."

The EPG had been given limited time and although their report was "better than anything I have seen come out of the United Nations," it was not good, he said. It had clearly been drawn up before correspondence between the SA Government and the EPG had been finalised. The report had come to the conclusion that South Africa would only change under pressure. "They made a fatal error. They see economic pressures as a peaceful way to effect change while we see it as a violent method. How can the purposeful creation of unemployment be a peaceful measure?" Unemployment, the return of many thousands of workers to neighboring states and a lowering of economic standards, particularly for blacks, would result.

Mr Botha said he found the report disappointing. "The report purports to give the views of all the parties visited. In my opinion the record of the views of the ANC and others is not a correct reflection of their known views," Mr Botha said. There was no mention of the ANC view that peaceful negotiation was a betrayal of the revolution or any indication of the communist party membership within the ANC.

"It is a pity. By not stating their views as they are, the report creates the impression that the EPG regards them (the ANC) as the alternative government." There were many other parties involved in the issue, the minister said. The main problem with the EPG had been their concept of ending violence. The report correctly reflected the SA governments insistence that it could not negotiate while the resumption of violence was a negotiating counter. "This is our main concern, it is the key to the success of future negotiating processes in South Africa."

It was a matter of principle which applied to all. "All parties committed to peaceful negotiation must abandon their particular form of intimidation," he said. The South African government alone had been singled out by the EPG to take the initiative by unbanning the ANC and PAC and establishing freedom of assembly and movement as a precondition. The South African Government had made important announcements on reform and had repealed the pass and influx control measures. The EPG admitted important changes had taken place. "Nevertheless they do not consider it a serious matter but we have given clear evidence of our commitment and felt it reasonable that parties give evidence of their commitment to end violence." Finally, the SA Government failed to elicit a response from the EPG on where it stood regarding the nature of the negotiations — whether they shared the ANC view that negotiations went about the handover of power and not powersharing.

Mr Botha said the EPG had been instructed to investigate at the end of last year and had to report by April. "It was a mistake to limit their time," he said. "With three visits of a group like this it is naive to expect much progress in so short a time," Mr Botha said.

Police No Longer To Issue Unrest Reports

MB121447 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1446 GMT 12 Jun 86

[Text] Johannesburg, June 12, SAPA — The Police Division of Public Relations would no longer issue twice daily unrest reports, the division said. A spokesman said in Pretoria this function would now be taken over by the Bureau of Information in Pretoria because of the state of emergency. The bureau has been requested by telex to clarify the situation.

Continuing Reportage on Police Emergency Measures

Soweto Closed to Nonresidents

MB121514 Umtata Capital Radio in English 1500 GMT 12 Jun 86

[Text] The sprawling township of Soweto, near Johannesburg, has been closed off to nonresidents. A spokesman at the Soweto Police Headquarters says under the state of emergency also includes the media.

Naude Says 200 Detained

MB122039 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2034 GMT 12 Jun 86

[Text] Cape Town, June 12, SAPA — The nationwide security swoop on hundreds of activists, offices, and homes was today strongly condemned by opposition leaders and organisations. According to the South African Council of Churches [SACC] leaders, the Rev Beyers Naude, early indications are that up to 1200 people were detained in swoops that began before dawn across the country. In terms of the emergency regulations, those detained cannot be dentified without permission. The Bureau for Information confirmed the detentions of "several" people following the declaration of a state of emergency. But "no individual namee will be confirmed. The next-of-kin of those detained, will be informed," a spokesman for the bureau said.

According to a police Public Relations Directorate spokesman, Maj Steve van Rooyen, the detentions were in terms of Section 50 of the Internal Security Act and detainees could be held for up to 14 days. This period can be extented by order of the minister.

Hardest hit was the UDF [United Democratic Front] and its affiliates, AZAPO [Azanian People's Organisation] progressive trade unions and church organisations. However, many top UDF members fearing a crackdown were not at home when police swooped in the early hours.

A spokesman for the minister of law and order, Mr Louis le Grange, said the minister would not comment on the detentions at this stage.

150 Arrested in Border Region

MB130515 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0259 GMT 13 Jun 86

[Text] East London, June 13, SAPA — At least 150 people, including nurses, were believed to have been seized by police in the border region on the first full day of the state of emergency proclaimed by the government today. It was earlier reported that more than 81 anti-apartheid campaigners had been detained in the region which encompasses the townships of Duncan Village, Fort Beaufort, Queenstown, King Williams town and Grahamstown. No official confirmation of the alleged number of detainees could be obtained and names of the detainees cannot be reported without official permission — in terms of the emergency regulations.

But the Bureau of Information in Pretoria said "several detentions took place early today following the declaration of a national state of emergency." Those allegedly detained included members of the Duncan Village Residents Association, several nurses and residents. The chairman of the East London branch of Black Sash, Mrs Sue Power, said the nurses who had been detained had been involved in efforts to re-establish health services in Duncan Village. "They are peace-seeking people and are in no way destructive or disruptive," she said.

Government Declines To Name Detainees

MB130739 Umtata Capital Radio in English 0700 GMT 13 Jun 86

[Excerpt] The government has declined to name hundreds of antiapartheid activists detained in yesterday's pre-dawn swoops. Reports say between 1,000 and 2,000 people have been picked up, but the Bureau for Information says only the next of kin of those detained will be informed. The deputy minister of the Bureau, Louis Nel, also says that he is setting up a special press briefing center for daily news conferences on state of emergency measures. He says the routine unrest report released by the police will stop, and will be replaced by the Bureau of Information's conferences.

Newspaper Offices Raided

MB130812 Umtata Capital Radio in English 0800 GMT 13 Jun 86

[Text] Today's issue of *THE WEEKLY MAIL* nearly became the first casualty of the government's application of strict media curbs in terms of emergency regulations. According to *THE WEEKLY MAIL*, 10 armed policemen arrived at the paper's Johannesburg printing press late last night and attempted to seize the full 24,000 print run. But, after representations from the paper's owners, police left with only one copy, which they said they would use as evidence. According to *WEEKLY MAIL* staff, the policeman in charge felt that the paper was subversive. In terms of emergency regulations, the media is forbidden to publish what it terms subversive statements, which include encouragement of strikes, boycotts, sanctions, racial hatred, and opposition to conscription. *THE WEEKLY MAIL* is on sale today.

UDF Urges Attendance at Church Services 16 June

MB111626 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1622 GMT 11 Jun 86

[Text] Johannesburg, June 11, SAPA — The United Democratic Front [UDF] today called on "all peace-loving South Africans" to attend church services on June 16. "Whilst mindful of the attempt by the minister of law and order to trample upon the dignity of the majority of South Africans wishing to commemorate June 16, the UDF wishes to reiterate that our people have a right, not only political, but also God given, to commemorate the day," a UDF statement issued in Johannesburg by the organisation's publicity secretary, Mr Murphy Morobe, said. "We therefore support the call by ministers of religion to open up their churches for services on June 16 and to minister to all people in this crisis situation. Having that in mind, we have callled upon all peace-loving South Africans to attend all church services in all areas on 15th and 16th June. The UDF has in addition called on all its affiliates to hold mass meetings in all areas to call for the unbanning of the ANC." More details would be available by the weekend, the statement said.

Le Grange: Police Must Restore Order to Crossroads

MB121819 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1817 GMT 12 Jun 86

[Text] Cape Town, June 12, SAPA — The minister of law and order, Mr Louis le Grange, has instructed Cape police chiefs to bring under control the situation in Crossroads with the use of special police reinforcements which are being brought to the area. A spokesman for the minister's office confirmed today that reinforcements were being brought to the squatter camps from the neighbouring western Cape and Pretoria. Other security forces will be used in addition to the police. The police would act strongly to restore order, regardless of whether "witdoek" or "comrades" were involved. Mr le Grange said he was not prepared to allow one faction to think it could take the law in its own hands.

Meanwhile, Maj-Gen Kirk Genis of police headquarters in Pretoria has arrived in Cape Town to take charge of the situation in Crossroads and KTC. His arrival followed discussions Mr le Grange had with police chiefs recently. He instructed them to bring the conditions in Crossroads under control as soon as possible with the use of all available manpower. The spokesman for the minister said Maj-Gen Genis had a "wide range of experience in unrest-related matters in the eastern Cape and the Witwatersrand." He had also been brought in to free the divisional commissioner of police, Maj Chris Swart, "for his other essential tasks as commissioner."

'Top-Level Discussions' Held

MB121844 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1839 GMT 12 Jun 86

[Text] Cape Town, June 12, SAPA — Top-level discussions on the situation in KTC involving the police, Defence Force, the divisional council traffic chief and the Western Cape Development Board were held at Manenberg police station today. The situation in strife-torn KTC was reported to be quiet as the discussions got under way, presided over by Major-General Dirk Genis of police headquarters in Pretoria, who flew to the city to supervise bringing the situation under control. General Genis was still involved in the discussions this afternoon.

Mr Graham Lawrence, director of housing for the Development Board, said he and another board official had discussed restoration of services. He said the board estimated there were now between 60,000 and 70,000 people homeless as a result of three weeks fighting in Crossroads and KTC. Asked where the refugees were, he said: "This is a problem. We don't know where they are." He said about three-quarters of KTC had been destroyed during this weeks three days of battles. The remaining shacks were empty because the occupants had fled. This meant nearly 8000 shacks had been lost during the fighting in Crossroads and KTC — more than 2000 in Crossroads and about 5200 in KTC. He warned unless essential services such as night-soil removal were restored, a serious health problem could develop.

Tutu Negotiates 'Interim Cease-fire'

MB121855 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1852 GMT 12 Jun 86

[Text] Cape Town, June 12, SAPA — Peace returned to the KTC squatter camp in Cape Town today after an interim ceasefire was negotiated by Nobel Peace Prize Winner, Bishop Desmond Tutu. Bishop Tutu made the breakthrough by persuading vigilante leaders to meet with leaders from KTC. The archbishop-eleect of Cape Town made the ceasefire announcement after spending two hours in negotiations with "50 or 60" of the Crossroads leadership at Khayelitsha's site C settlement. The next "urgent" step was to meet again with leaders of KTC and with young militants to set up a date and venue for the peace talks.

Meanwhile, the mayor of cape Town, Mr Leon Markovitz, today appealed to the government urgently to declare the KTC/Crossroads area a national disaster zone — "and in so doing mobilise the resources at its disposal before the situation worsens any further." While Capetonians had responded warmly to requests for aid, he said, it was clear that Cape Town lacked the resources to repair fully the enormous damage in the greater Crossroads area. Expressing deep concern at "the appalling scenes of violence" in the area, the mayor also called on the state president, Mr P.W.Botha, to appoint a wide-ranging commission of inquiry "finally to establish the facts."

An uneasy calm reigned in the KTC area today and the sound of refugees desperately demolishing unburnt shacks replaced the sounds of gunfire which dominated the area over the past three days. Relief and health workers in the area reported no fighting at all, and a newspaper team which toured the area saw no signs of fresh battle and a minimal police presence. The death toll has now risen to 23 with the discovery of two more bidies in Nyanga East this afternoon. Health workers at the Guguletu day hospital said they had had a "very quiet day" with no deaths and almost no injuries reported.

The senior deputy commissioner of police, administration, Maj-Gen Dirk Genis, of police headquarters, Pretoria, today held discussions with senior officers in Cape Town on the unrest in the black townships, especially the Crossroads and KTC areas. Gen Genis has been instructed by Mr Louis le Grange, minister of law and order, to take control of the security forces in the Cape Peninsula where police reinforcements started to arrive today.

Meanwhile, Bishop Tutu said the witdoeke leaders agreed on two things: "One is that they would like to have a meeting to discuss a settlement, a peace, and the other is that there should be a cease-fire until that meeting is held. We obviously can't say when that meeting will be until we meet with the leadership on the other side." Bishop Tutu asked journalists not to probe too deeply into the details at this stage to avoid jeopardising the interim peace as "we have reached a very delicate stage in this whole affair and we are dealing with matters of life and death".

Late today Bishop Patrick Matolengwe, who is the Anglican vicar-general in the absence of Archbishop Philip Russell, said Bishop Tutu had set up a meeting with the KTC leadership and he saw them tonight.

Meanwhile, police confirmed that another three bodies and seven wounded had been found in KTC yesterday. A police liaison officer for the Western Province, Lt Attie Laubscher, said one man was shot dead by police with an R1 rifle after he had fired four shots at a police foot patrtol in KTC at 4.30pm yesterday. Police recovered a light calibre handgun. The two other bodies had several panga wounds. He said that during police operations in KTC yesterday police had come under fire four times. Shortly before 2pm yesterday eight shots had been fired at a police casspir in KTC but no one had been injured. Police had fired an R1 rifle at a gunman who fired two shots at them shortly after 4pm and later at someone who had fired four shots at them in another part of KTC at 4.40pm. It was not known if anyone had been hit, he said. Police had also been petrolbombed on five occasions during which they used teargas and birdshot to disperse crowds.

'Text' of Communist Party 'Working Document'

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[Text] Cape Town, June 12, SAPA — Following is the full text of the SACP [South African Communist Party] working document referred to by the state president in his speech to parliament today, preceded by Mr Botha's comments:

"The politburo of the SACP is currently (May 1986) circulating a directive/discussion document on negotiations to its members in order to promote uniformity on this issue throughout their ranks and to foster a similar approach within the ranks of the ANC. The document originated from an extended politburo meeting with members of the central committee in March 1986 where a decision was taken to provide more systematic theoretical guidelines on certain vital questions/problems which have been highlighted by the current situation in South Africa."

"It is universally acknowledged that our situation is pregnant with the prospects for change. The use of brute force, combined with attempts at reformist diversions designed to avoid real change, are visibly failing. The resistance is not being subdued. Instead, more and more people are being awakened to political life. The political statement circulated by the central committee after our last plenary session touches on these developments in greater detail and forms part of the background to this discussion document. Our liberation front is becoming increasinsly accepted as more than an agitational opposition; it is regarded by a large slice of the world and, more importantly, by the majority of our people, as the immediate alternative power to racism and explotation. The heightened tempo of the conflict and the prospects which are emerging for radical transformation demand continuous attention to our organisational, agitational and mobilising tasks both in the military and political spheres as part of the unfolding revolutionary process. These developments also require reflection on a number of problems relating to the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary transformation which may previously have been in the realm of speculative debate but which have now assumed an immediate significance.

"Part cadres at different levels of the liberation structures have of course participated in the process of elaborating answers to questions which changing reality is increasingly imposing. It has obviously become more urgent than ever for the party as a collective to reflect more deeply than it has managed to do in the recent period on some of the problems raised by the changing situation. The strategic objectives defined in our programme, party constitution and other basis documents remain valid. These documents define the main content of our national democratic revolution and describe it as stage towards the struggle for social emancipation in the epoch of the world transition from capitalism and within the context of the struggle against imperialism. The dominant role of the working class at this stage of the struggle is stressed.

"The Freedom Charter provided broad, popular guidelines which describe the main content of the people's power in the immediate aftermath of a victory of the national democratic revolution. It is not a programme for a socialist South Africa but, depending upon the social forces which come to power, it can become the starting point for creating conditions which would lead to a socialist transformation.

"Our broad strategy for achieving peoples power is to mobilise the masses for a seizure of power through a combination of political action and armed strugle in which partial and general uprisings will play a vital role in the developing stages of people's war. Paragraph 5 (above) very briefly summarises and describes the main beacons of our struggle. But the tactical journey towards these beacons must be influenced by the continuously changing and developing situation. And, as we have already emphasised, events of the last twenty months have resulted in a very significant transformation of the balance of class and national forces involved in our struggle.

"There has already been an immeasurable strengthening of the revolutionary forces. Organisationally, this expresses itself primarily in the enormous growth in the popularity, reputation and status of the ANC led liberation alliance. This alliance attracts

varying degress of allegiance and support form the masses organised at local, regional and national level and from the organised working calss. Roughly speaking, this sector as a whole encompasses the content of the main revolutionary forces as organised contingents. In class terms the core of these contingents are the urban and rural working people in alliance with other classes and strata among the nationally oppressed majority such as the black petty bourgeoisie whose objective interests will be served by the revolutionary transformation envisaged by the liberation alliance. In addition to the struggle in our country is creating a situation in which the white power bloc is beginning to lose its cohesion.

"Sections of the ruling class in the imperialistic countries, which were previously quite ready to underpin the apartheid system, are also beginning to lose faith in its capacity to protect their interests. Sensing the inevitability of change, important sectors of the white power bloc and some imperialistic strata are themselves beginning to seek a transformation involving mainly the extention of varying forms of political democracy within the framework of capitalism. Recognition by powerful segments of our ruling class (and some of their imperialist allies) that they can no longer continue ruling in the old way obviously favours the revolutionary forces; it brings to the fore the need to intensify the politicalterrain of struggle so as to weaken still further the cohesion of the forces ranged againsnt us.

"Thus, there are emerging in South Africa what Lenin called (in relation to the February 1917 Russian Revolution) dissimilar current, heterogenous class interests, contrary political and social stirrings, as objective factors in deepening the enemy crisis, fragmenting its previously monolithic character and therefore objectively strengthening the prospects of a radical breakthrough. On the face of it there appears to be a proliferation of new groupings which consider themselves to be part of the forces for change but which cannot necessarily be embraced as part of what we regard as the revolutionary forces. By far the most important class grouping which falls into this category is what one might call (for want of the better phrase) the liberal bourgeoisie. It is the representatives of the latter and their like minded imperialist friends which triggered off the current series of talks and dialogue with the ANC. Many issues going to the very root of the politics and economics of an immediate transformation have been a subject of discussion with these forces and of continuous speculation in the international and South African media.

"Let us be clear. The liberal bourgeosie seek transformations of the South African society which go beyond the reform limits of the present regime but which aim to pre-empt the objectives of the revolutionary forces. Old style apartheid no longer serves their class interests.

"In addition, external pressures triggered off by an unending people's resistance, are taking a terrible toll of their existing and potential economic interests. It is clear that the new-found political liberalism of a significant section of the bourgeosie (represented by the signatories to the FCI [Federated Chamber of Industries] business charter) has, as its primary objective, the saving of capitalism implying, by and large, the retention by them of the ownership of all or most of the means of production. Their business charter, which in certain respects proclaims the same liberties as the Freedom Charter, understandably incorporates such clauses as "everyone has the right to own property, alone as well as in association with others ... and everyone has the right freely to employ labour and to own or manage a business in accordance with the rights and principles set out in this charter."

And, (as we shall see later) the other side of the same coin is the fear of a revolutionary takeover and, therefore, an attempt to avoid majority rule in its true meaning.

"In other words, the liberal bourgeoisie seek a February but, understandably, in a way which would prevent it from moving into an October. Their strategy for achieving this objective has been clearly articulated by them. They seek transformation through negotiation and not the kind of conflict which would culminate in a revolutionary seizure of power. Lenin said of the Russian liberal bourgeosie that it 'does not demand the overthrow of the tsarist government ... it is striving to effect as peaceful a deal as possible between the tsar and the revolutionary people ... a deal which would give a maximum of power to itself, the bourgeosie, and a minimum to the revolutionary people ... the proletariat and the peasantry.' To implement this tactic they, together their external allies, can be expected to attempt to push the revolutionary forces into negotiation before they are strong enough to impose their basic objectives.

"The intention is to defuse the people's struggles and to force a compromise based on existing power relationships. A vital element of their strategy is to prevent effective majority rule so as to keep the national forces divided. For example Gavin Relly, one of the most influential signatories to the business charter, casts doubt on the advisability of having a single directly elected assembly, supports the perpetuation of tribal power centres such as the homelands and states that an 'immediate handing over of power on the basis of one-man-one-vote would result in political chaos and economic retreat.'

"Consistent with the above is the insistence by the Rellys and the Van Zyl Slabberts that there must be a break by the ANC with the Communist Party and that in any case the ANC must be regarded as only one of the many organisations among the black forces when it comes to a round-table settlement discussion. Van Zyl Slabbert's report back to Botha about his discussions with the ANC reveals another level of his approach. He describes the ANC following among the people as a 'myth' and asked for permission to see Barnard (the head of national intelligence) in order to discuss proposals (with security implications) which he felt could 'draw the teeth' of the ANC.

"We have devoted space to the problem of the liberal bourgeosie because it helps to highlight with greater clarity a number of questions related to the character of our revolution. More particularly:

1. Our situation differs from the situation facing the Russian Bolsheviks in 1905 and in the period prior to February 1917.

"In our case the white bourgeosie (including the political liberal segment) is in power: It is the ruling class. Therefore we must resist any confusion between the national democratic revolution

(whose content is spelt out in our programme, in the ANC strategy and tactics, etc) and the classical constituents of bourgeois democratic revolutions. The unique and a typical form which South African capitalism has developed (based on colonialism of a special type) has placed on the agenda a struggle for national and political demands which are usually associated with the historic struggle waged by the bourgeoisie at the dawn of capitalism against feudalism. These demands have become knowd as bourgeois democratic rights.

"2. In any case (in contrast to 1905 and February 1917) no sector of our bourgeosie (with the exception of the tiny weak black bourgeosie) supports the struggle for bourgeois democratic rights in their true meaning. As we have seen, they remain opposed to the very starting point of bourgeois democratic rights, i.e majority rule, one man one vote in a united national state. Despite a great deal of rhetoric on questions of democracy their ultimate solutions are always qualified by referring to group rights which, in the South African context, implies various forms of protection of the accumulated privileges of the white group. Our characterisation thus far of the liberal bourgeoisie does not however dispose of the question completely. A serious revolutionary movement always tries to divide the enemy and to broaden the base of opposition to the main enemy.

"This implies the need for ever-widening varities of opposition some of which may not be motivated by revolutionary intentions. In this connection we must also bear in mind the danger of the potential growth in strength of out-and-out Nazi forces such as AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement], HNP [Reformed National Party], Treurnicht's CP [Conservative Party] and their vigilante offshoots and the possibility of and undisguised military dictatorship.

"Also we must not underestimate the counterrevolutionary offensive against freedom movements orchestrated by the Reagan Adminstration.

"On the other hand a political re-adjustment in the ruling power block which favours its liberal bourgeoisie wing would undoubtedly create better objective conditions for the continuing struggle by the revolutionary forces to achieve the aims of the national democratic revolution. Tactically, what flows from this?

"On the one hand we are justified in helping by all means (including talks) to advance the process of breaking the cohesion and unity of the ruling class and to isolate and weaken its most racist and politically reactionary sector. On the other hand, without blurring some very important distinctions between liberal bourgeoisie and their more reactionary class brothers.

"We must expose their objective of co-opting forces from among the oppressed in order to frustrate the achievements of the main aims of the national democratic revolution. We must not play into their hands by working out compromises (or being seen to work out compromises) for some hypothetical negotiating table which constitutes a retreat from the main aims of the national democratic revolution. Nor must a genuine desire to project a public image of reasonableness, tempt us to paddle softly on the true nature of the liberation alliance and its revolutionary socio-economic objectives. At the same time we must not mechanically dig in our heels against any future possibility of negotiation with other forces. We must remember that virtually all revolutionary struggles in the post war period (Algeria, Angola, Mozambique etc) reached their final climax at the negotiating table.

"But the question of negotiation usually arises at a time of a major revolutionary climax involving the transfer of power based on the massive strength of the people's offensive. At such a stage we have to judge what interim compromises are historically justified and take the people with us. The main thrust of our present strategy remains a revolutionary seizure of power. Premature speculation about possible compromises in order to tempt broader forces such as the liberal bourgeoisie on to our side, may serve to blunt the edge of the people's revolutionary military.

"Another question which requires special attention is how to harmonise and achieve a correct balance between the imperatives of class alliances and the independent role of the working class and its political vanguard. In the area of mass organisation the answer is less problematic. The emergency of a strong trade union movement which is both independent of and part of the broad alliance of revolutionary forces creates a worker's constitutency with enormous potential for acting at the mass level in defence of workers interests both economically and politically. The trade union movement does not and cannot carry out the functions of the political vanguard of the working class. This is the role of the party of the working class, which we are.

"In the alliance headed by the ANC we represent both short and long term political and social aspirations of the working class. We have always believed that our party can only carry out its historic mission by ensuring that its vital role in the alliance does not result in a negation of its role as a public : independent vanguard of the working class. In this connection we must consider the following:

"We continue to face the old problem of party work always being pushed into second place because of the necessary involvement of virtually all our talented personnel in other structures of the liberation alliance. This continues to limit our capacity for the independent spread of working class perspectives in the struggle and hinders the strengthening of the party organisationally. If no effective steps are taken to deal with this weakness, the party will not be able to carry out its historic mission. It is also necessary to reflect on the profile of the party in the liberation alliance whose public head is correctly the ANC. The question which needs to be addressed is: To what extent has it become accepted as a permanent feature of the alliance that the party is not a participant as a party in the activities and relations of the alliance that the party is not a participant as a party in the activities and relations of the alliance with other forces?.

"This question recently under consideration in the preparations for the meeting with COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions]. After prior discussion which included an informal canvassing of the views of some of the COSATU delegation it was decided that the party should not be seen to be having an independent presence in the talks.

Without questioning the correctness of the decision on this specific occasion it has become important to open this whole

problem for reflection and discussion especially in relation to the status and role of the party in our future serious negotiating processes. It is also necessary to reflect on the extent to which the party should (like SACTU [South African Confederation of Trade Unions]) develop publicly-expressed independent relationships with selected working class groupings.

"14.3. Making the formal profile of the party more visible will not, on its own, give it the capacity to perform its historic mission. In the end, it is the party's strength on the ground and more especially, its organised presence among the black working class, which counts.

"15. The situation has shot into greater prominence than ever before the question of the character of the interim phase of people's power. We have partly touched upon this in reference to the role and objectives of the liberal bourgeoisie. The series of talks on which the alliance has correctly embarked demand from us more precise formulations than are contained in the broadly stated objectives of the Freedom Charter.

"Understandably, there is increasing pressure for answers to questions which relate to the interim phase of people's power. It has clearly become necessary to elaborate more detailed approaches to matters such as the relationship between private and public property in the interim phase. These approaches must be guided by the following general considerations:

"15.1. On the one hand, as clearly spelt out in our programmatic documents, the immediate (underlined) attainment of the socialist revolution is not on the agenda. This does not mean that we are putting it off but, to quote Lenin's words, we are taking the first step towards it in the only possible way, along the only correct path, namely the path of a democratic republic.

"15.2. On the other hand, liberation implies a massive redistribution of wealth and cannot have much meaning without the undermining of the economic hold over the means of production which is exercised by the existing ruling class and without (at the political level) creating a state form in which the working people are dominant.

"This implies more than an alteration in voting arrangments. Meaningful exercise of people's power during the interim phase is inconceivable in a situation in which the army, the peolice force, the state bureaucracy, the communication media, etc, etc, remain substantially in the control of the existing structures. It is only a provisional people's government which can take measures which will ensure the possibilities of a real exercise of democracy.

"16. In conclusion it is necessary to stress that the talks which have taken place have undoubtedly served to enhance the unity of the democratic forces and to weaken the cohesion of the enemy both at home and abroad. Indeed this area of the politico-military terrain of struggle needs to be pursued with even greater vigour. We must however make sure that the whole membership of the liberation movement and the people generally are kept fully informed about the nature of the talks so as to avoid misunderstanding and distortion of their real nature. The emphasis of the struggle rests on the rising momentum of the people's offensive which must be intensified with the object of winning peoples power. The issue of future negotiations (to be distinguished from the talks) must always be dealt with in a manner which will not serve to divert or defuse this momentum. We must continue to make clear that our 'bottom line' for negotiation is the transfer of political power to the majority in one united demmcratic South Africa. This objective should, however, not divert us from creating the broadest possible front of struggle around immediate basic demands such as the release of political prisoners, troops out of townships, dismantling apartheid, legalising the ANC and so on. The winning of these demands may create a better climate for negotiations but cannot in itself be regarded as a bargaining chip for slowing down or suspending the people's offensive."

Press Comments on Current Issues, Problems

[Editorial Report]

STAR on Influx Control

"Crossroads is a 'beacon on the road of the failure of influx control'" says the Johannesburg *THE STAR* in English on a page 20 editorial. "That is the view not of critics or PFP [Progressive Federal Party] do-gooders but of a Nationalist MP. The disaster of government policy stems from the fact that until last year the Western Cape was viewed as a white and coloured preference area. That is why the people of Crossroads and its adjacent squatter camps were harried over the years to move elsewhere; that is why these camps remained shanty towns without proper amenities and without elected leadership, leaving them so vulnerable to factional violence." "There is a certain irony in the fact that as Crossroads is once again erupting, Nationalists are admitting in Parliament that the policy of influx control was a mistake. The MP for Belville, Mr Andre van der Walt, who used the 'beacon' metaphor, also said that control measures had led to 'an evil cycle which clouded black-white relations.' This spirit of understanding could have saved the country much misery in the past. But it would be useful even now if it prevailed — and the government could be persuaded to act with compassion and good sense over Crossroads."

President's Reform Deceptive

Allister Sparks writes in his "My View" column on the same page: "The Stellenbosch student leader didn't mince his words when asked what he and his friends thought of President Botha. 'I believe the Rubicon speech is the way he really feels,' the student replied. 'That was the true man talking.' Looking at events of the past few weeks, at the calculated shooting down of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group (EPG) and the kragdadige [powerful] approach to the June 16 anniversary it is difficult to disagree. It is Rubicon all over again." "Once again the world is being told to go to blazes, the government is going to show who's baas [boss] around here, if it means sanctions, another slump in the rand and generally more of an economic mess, too bad." President Botha is of two minds. He wants reform "but it has to be his prescription of reform leading to 'moderate' blacks — that is those who are prepared to work within his system such as 'homeland' leaders and community councillors — being included in some carefully devised constitutional arrangement which will ensure that the whites, and specifically the National Party, remain in control." However, "in attempting this he has

destroyed the old apartheid ideology, and this has started a dynamic towards a more radical kind of change which President Botha does no want." His own people are accusing him of betraying Afrikaner nationalism. "My guess is that it is the burgeoning growth of the right wing and the accusations of betrayal particularly that are getting to him." Botha's "astonishing speech to the President's Council, slamming the 'unsolicited interference' of 'meddling groups visiting the country,'" the military raids into Lusaka, Harare and Botswana and the booklet on the ANC, "making it quite clear that it was not prepared to negotiate with the organization," led to the EPG's conclusion that South Africa is not interested in negotiations. "Our Caesar has committed his country to a hazardous venture that will involve sanctions and civil war. God knows where it will end, but as we move into the grim phase that now lies ahead let us not forget how we got there and how it might have been avoided."

Role of Black Business in Economy

THE STAR carries on page 20 an edited version of Progessive Federal Party (PFP) leader Colin Eglin's address at the 14th annual conference of the Free State African Chamber of Commerce and Industry in which he says "Black business in South Africa faces more challenges than probably at any other stage in its existence. Indeed, it is something of a miracle that black business has managed to exist at all." Change on the part of the government has become apparent. The 30-year leasehold for blacks in urban areas was extended to a 99-year leasehold. "Now the government has abolished the Black Urban Areas Act. This will mean relief to the enterpreneur, in that it will be easier to establish undertakings. Simultaneously, the government has introduced legislation to provide for the temporary ·-sing of restrictions which inhibit the operation of the free market, and specifically the operation of the informal sector." The government has also started to realize some economic truths. The first being that "you cannot have the economic prosperity that is generated by a free enterprise system in an apartheid society. Economic freedom is only part of the total of human freedom." "The second of these truths is that while the government may have a complementary role to play in providing the necessary infrastructure and the education, health, social welfare and other necessary services, the productive thrust in our economy must come from the initiative and work of the individ· al and the private sector." "In the minds of many young blacks, the concepts of capitalism and apartheid have become identified as two sides of the same coin." "In the years that lie ahead, when the free enterprise system as last has the opportunity of being truly free and showing what it can do, I trust that you businessmen will prove that you can create wealth, not just for yourselves but for the people. If you do so you will not only help to roll back poverty but you will help to preserve the free enterprise system."

SOWETAN on 16 June Anniversary

"June 16 is likely to see one of the biggest confrontations between the people and the government, unless the State acts with restraint and responsiblity" says a page 4 editorial in the Johannesburg *SOWETAN* in English on 11 June. All South Africans are urged to "voice their total rejection of the bannings on gatherings related to the Freedom Charter and the June 16 uprisings." "It should also be well known that the build-up to the 10th anniversary of June 16 has been organised carefully by almost all black political organisations. The momentum is so great that the captains of business and many other whites have indicated their support for June 16 to be declared a public holiday." "Already the voices calling for more pressure on the South African Government are getting louder. It is the responsibility of the government to resolve this crisis. Not only are they supposed to be in charge of events here, but their laws have fuelled the instability."

'Focus' on 16 June Anniversary

Themba Molefe writes in the "Focus" column on the same page that the "Cillie Commission's report tabled in Parliament on February 28 1980, found that some cornerstones of the apartheid policy contributed to the flare-up that shook South Africa in 1976. The root causes of the violence 10 years ago were bitterness and frustration among black pupils at the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction." "The Cillie Commission noted in 1980: 'The Soweto conflagration and after, was a consequence of apartheid, injustice and official bungling.'" "June 16 1986 comes when there is death and destruction in the townships — at an age when the new generation of black children has become the standard bearers of struggle."

Government Increases 16 June Tension

"Even in the context of daily violence amounting to civil warfare at Crossraods, mine blasts in the Transvaal, and running conflict in Kwandebele, June 16 now looms as a threat. Talk of confrontation is bad enough; the expection of confrontation is almost a self-fulfilling prophecy" says the page 8 editorial in the Johannesburg *BUSINESS DAY* in English. "Agents of the liberation movement are not innocent of creating this tension, but government has played into their hands as though it were employed to do so." Minister of Law and Order Louis le Grange's threats of a state of emergency "alert every television company and radio station in the Western world, and it spurs the radicals to put on even a better show." Banning the meetings to commemorate the Soweto riots of June 16 has created an opportunity for radical mischief. "Markets, we are told, are frozen in trepidation. No wonder. If there were ever any chance of June 16 passing unnoticed, in rallies and speech-making and marches under banners calling for freedom, government's handling of the run-up has surely reduced that chance to miniscule proportions."

CAPE TIMES on Security Bills

"The passage of two nasty pieces of legislation which Nationalists want on the statute book in the name of 'security' has been delayed, but not prevented" says page 8 editorial of the Cape Town *CAPE TIMES* in English on 9 June . Although the security measures have been prevented from becoming law before 16 June "in one form or another, they will become law because that is what the National Party wants. Nationalists feel they cannot govern without being able to declare 'unrest areas.'" The government wants to take the same powers as in last year's emergency proclamations and "hopes the world and financial markets will not take quite the same notice if they are only called unrest powers. It also believes that, if it has these powers, then unrest will go away because all the subversives will be locked up. It is wrong on both counts. Unrest is endemic not because the government does not have sufficient authoritarian powers, but because it refuses to address key political and social grievances." Even if the amendments proposed by the Houses of Representatives and delegates are accepted, they should "not support the

measure as a whole. Helping to sponsor repression will make them the junior partners not just of the government but of apartheid itself."

RSA Role in Angola Questioned

A second editorial questions South Africa's involvement in the Angolan civil war and its backing the Unita rebel army. "As the Botha government goes into laager on the home front, there is no reason to think it is abandoning its policy of aggression, covert and overt, against neighbour states." In reply to the allegation that it attacked oil tanks and mined cargo vessels in the Angolan port of Namibe the SADF said "'it is easy to blame South Africa for everything that happened in Southern Africa.' No doubt it is. If south African servicemen are being sent into action beyond our borders, however, the country is entitled to know."

CAPE TIMES on Violence in Squatter Camp

"After the Crossroads disaster, yesterday's appalling events in the black areas of the peninsula are beyond belief" says a page 6 editorial in the Cape Town *CAPE TIMES* in English on 10 June. "Once again lawless violence has run riot, much of the time unchecked, as it is alleged, with the poorest, weakest and most vulnerable section of the black community — the burnt-out Crossroads refugees — again bearing the brunt. It is a chaotic and shameful situation, reflecting badly on the responsible authorities, to put it as charitably as possible." "There are allegations of police complicity with lawless vigilantism." However, "official statements speak of fighting between so-called 'comrades' or anti-apartheid activists and conservative 'witdoek' [white scarves] vigilantes." Despite a Supreme Court temporary interdict restraining the police, the South African Defense Force (SADF) and "witdoek" vigilantes from participating in or permitting unlawful attacks on people or property in the KTC shanty camp it was "burning and was at least partially destroyed." President Botha would do well to appoint a wide-ranging commission of inquiry to examine charges against the police of the utmost gravity."

CAPE TIMES on Security Amendments

An editorial in the *CAPE TIMES* on page 6 reviews the issue of amendments to the security bills. "MPs should ask why these measures are needed in the first place" and "not merely take the government's word for it that these measures are necessary and confine their efforts to trying to lessen the worst provisions." "Nationalists love authoritarian powers, and they love seeing all unrest simply in terms of communist plots. MPs should ask what other plans the government has for removing real grievances which could contribute to the country's long-term stability. They should not be bullied into accepting these measures as better than a new emergency declaration or martial law. Unless MPs from all three chambes are convinced that there is no alternative to this draconian legislation, they should not help make the law.

Forceful Approach to Violence Proposed

In his "Briefly" column on page 14 of the Johannesburg *RAPPORT* in Afrikaans of 8 June, Willem de Klerk writes: "We must hit the unrest — and 16 June — between the eyes. The security of the country is without a doubt the main debate at present. The way we deal with it makes headlines overseas. This involves increased detention without trial, declarations of states of emergency, the ANC's role in violence, the 16 June commemoration (which according to reports is also contributing to a fall in the rand) and many other incidents. Our image at the moment is that of a country falling apart. Everything is beginning to rotate around violence and it is becoming justifiable to ask if there is any way of controlling it. The two opposing approaches to the issue of violence are the hard-hitting lines and the powerlessness line." De Klerk says the hard-hitting line demands that the prerevolutionary chaos should be stopped with counterviolence. This is a no-holes-barred approach, it will retard reform, destroy the economy, and entrench ungovernability. The powerlessness line, he says, sees hitting back as counter productive, it will achieve nothing, increase racial polarization, hammer the settlement politics, and clinch our international disaster. Both approaches should be used, as the one controls the other. "The government should be encouraged to use the hard-hitting approach, despite all the risk attached. There is no other option at present. For the whole country's security it is now necessary that order is imposed with an iron fist which will put an end to the unrest. This will need extraordinary powers and a united front of opinion must give it the driving forces. The ground rules of democracy must not be brought into doubt. Too many of the hard-liners, whether they know it or not, use arguments typical of dictators," says De Klerk. "Together with the hard-line, we need further imaginative political strides. Announcements and the creation of new political structures for the interim period, rapid action on the abolition of the remaining apartheid, a new initiative on Mandela, further steps to achieve a visible alliance of those who favor power sharing... whatever, the government knows what plans are in the pipeline. If these things can all be placed on the table at the same time, as both plan and program, it can hasten the division between the revolutionaries and the power-sharing proponents."

RAPPORT on 16 June Commemoration

A page 14 editorial says: "It is the view of *RAPPORT* that holidays which have a symbolic significance for any community are important. It is understanable that 16 June is one such day for the black community . Although that day has strong emotional overtones with negative contents as well, the right of organized commemoration of the day ought to be recognized. Hopefully this will be so arranged in the future. Unfortunately, the militants and revolutionaries have saddled this day with their own intentions. Given the present climate in the country, we support the government's decision to ban gatherings on 16 June. This has caused wide and dangerous reaction, but one has to choose between two evils. Hopefully in the coming week a compromise can be reached on the kind of gatherings which can be allowed."

RAPPORT on Crisis in SA

A second editorial says the headlines in the past week have been sobering. It mentions the new sanctions package being pressed for in America, speculation of Commonwealth pressure on Mrs Thatcher over sanctions, the crisis of the rand and the refusal of the domestic economy to recover, unemployment, unrest, security, and polirization. "It is clear that great and difficult changes lie in wait for us. In this atmosphere a few ground rules are in order." "At times like this a national unity-in-crisis can achieve much. Those of all races who believe in power sharing, as well as a split white electorate have to accept that, despite our differences, we have to tackle the great issues which are threatening

our country." "Renewed strides in our politics to speed up the new dispensation will provide a way out. The revolutionary atmosphere has to be stopped. The defeatism and fatalism must be countered by a spirit of determination. We must see this period through by each remaining in his post, making a success of the job and carrying on as usual, regardless of the humiliation, or frustration. Going ahead with the internal and international dialogue, because isolation will mean disaster."

ZAMBIA

Kaunda Condemns RSA State of Emergency

MB130636 Lusaka Domestic Service in English 0600 GMT 13 Jun 86

[Text] The declaration of a state of emergency by South Africa has been condemned by all progressive countries in the world.

In Zambia, His Excellency President Kaunda has said the arrests of hundreds of activists is uncalled for action which will not stop the looming bloodshed in South Africa. The president, who was speaking in an interview with Radio New Zealand, NOS [Netherlands Broadcasting Corporation] Broadcasting Corporation in Amsterdam, Netherlands, and the Canadian National Radio Broadcasting Network in Toronto, said the state of emergency was one of the last kicks of the dying regime.

He expressed hope that Queen Elizabeth II would intervene in the South African situation, although he was reluctant to appeal to her for help because he noted that she had once changed her mind on supporting the rebel Rhodesian regime after her visit to Zambia in 1979.

ation table. It is tragic that the state president has not gone a great deal further than he had thus far gone towards creating the circumstances in which negotiations can take place. Had the state president done what he has already done much sooner, and had he already gone on to do that whch now cannot be done, he may well not have had to declare the state of emergency at this time. I call on every South African — black and white — and of whatever political persuasion, to recognise that history itself calls on our country to be calm and to break the upward spiralling of violence. And I call on all people of goodwill not to plunge our country into the final confrontation between black and whtie from which none will emerge as victors. I call on the state president to lift the state of emergency as soon as he possibly can and now to understand that just as those who are calling for revolutionary violence will fail to bring about a new South Africa, states of emergency will not do so either."

EEC Embassies To Close 16 Jun

MB130701 Umtata Capital Radio in English 0500 GMT 13 Jun 86

[Text] EEC member states with embassies in South Africa are to close them on 16 June in a signal of protest to the South African Government. A West German Foreign Ministry spokesman says the action, timed to coincide with Monday's 10th anniversary of the Soweto student revolt, has been unanimously approved by political directors of the 12 EEC states meeting in The Hague. He describes it as a double signal of protest against the apartheid system and the imposition of a state of emergency. Of the EEC states, only Luxembourg, Denmark, and Ireland do not have embassies in South Africa.

BBC Interviews EPG's Malcolm Fraser

MB122033 London BBC World Service in English 1309 GMT 12 Jun 86

[From the "24 Hours" program presented by Hugh Pricey-Jones]

[Excerpts] [Pricey-Jones] With only 4 days to go until the 10th anniversary of the Soweto riots, the South African Government has underlined the determination to stop any public commemoration of the event. As you have heard in the news, President Botha's declaration of a state of emergency has been accompanied by wholesale arrests of trade unionists, clergymen and political activists. At the *NEW NATION* newspaper, for instance, the entire staff was arrested after a 2-hour siege. A telex message from the office warned the editor in time that it was surrounded.

[Pricey-Jones] Well, the report of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group on South Africa published in London today recommends, as you have heard, strong economic measures, sanctions in a word, against the republic, and besides, in Brussels yesterday, the retiring EEC president also warned Pretoria that it is running out of time. In the U.S. Congress this week, the House's Foreign Affairs Committee voted to support planned U.S. sanctions. So, with sanctions clearly on the horizon, when Johan Timpson spoke to Mr Malcolm Fraser, former Australian prime minister who is cochairman of the EPG, he asked him how widespread would sanctions be if the Commonwealth decided to impose them.

[Begin recording] [Fraser] The countries with trade weight are obviously the ones of importance, and that is the United States, Britain, Germany, and one or two other European countries low down the list. There is no doubt that countries like Australia and Canada and many other Commonwealth countries are going to take whether we use the world measures or sanctions, I don't suppose it matters very much, and I will think quite severe ones, but it is the major countries with trade weight with South Africa that will be significant.

[Timpson] So, you disagree with the British Government's views that sanctions would not work?

[Fraser] Yes we do, but we point out that quite persuasion over many years has failed, a negotiating attempt in spite of the most detailed and painstaking efforts was never accepted by the South African Government even though we strongly believed, and they knew it, that the African leadership would have accepted the negotiating concept that we put forward. You see, the central part of the concept involved the release of political prisoners, it involved getting the troops out of the townships, and they are an immense provocation as we saw with our own eyes. It involved the suspension of trials, of detentions for long periods without trial, and it involved allowing a free political debate. Now on the black side, it also involved the suspension of violence, and these things, we thought, would be announced contemporaneously, at the same time, and if the black leadership was to suspend violence, it would need people like Nelson and Oliver Tambo and Buthelezi and others in the country able to move around freely and say: Look, we are going to have a negotiation, let us [words indistinct], let us stop this violence. How can Nelson Mandela do that from within jail? One of the real problems is that in all their talks with us about democracy and apartheid being dead, ministers emphasized that future political rights or economic rights for black people would be exercised through their own racial groups. Now, if that was the only thing they were prepared to negotiate, it is quite plain that they wanted apartheid to continue but in a different form. [end recording]

Commentary on Need for 'Showdown' With Radicals

MB130524 Johannesburg Domestic Service in English 0500 GMT 13 Jun 86

[Station commentary]

[Text] This column, comment, has consistently pleaded for a sober and balanced perspective throughout the past year or two of organised unrest and violence in South Africa. It has pushed for purposeful progress in the reform programme, both as a humanitarian imperative and as a condition for a secure future for the country at the same time it has warned that there can be no democratic progress while lawlessness and intimidation prevail in many parts of South Africa. A dispensation in which individual rights are respected, economic welfare is promoted and political aspirations are met, depends first and foremost on a foundation of stability under the law.

That editorial standpoint provides the context in which we evaluate the proclamation of a general state of emergency. Throughout this period the radical offensive against peaceful reform has grown more and more dangerous. The time has come to call a halt to it, to put an end to the depredations of the anti-democratic forces whose actions will surely destroy all that is best about this country and its peoples. It is time to move against organised gangs of murderers and intimidators, looters and petrol bombers -- the subverters of all standards of common human decency.

Talking, as a tactic, has not worked. The hope that such elements might be drawn into a more constructive approach to resolving problems by an attitude of conciliation, a readiness to discuss and act on problems, and evidence of continued progress in reform, has not been realised. All that has happened is in that the radicals have been encouraged to overestimate their power and adopt increasingly intransigent standpoints.

If South Africa has learned anything in the last two years it is that the democratic approach only works with people who believe in the values of democracy. In dealing with anti-democratic forces, applying the techniques of democratic politics — negotiation in a spirit of compromise — is self-defeating. Those forces simply exploit such a situation to strengthen their own position in the campaign of violent confrontation on which they are launched.

It is a foregone conclusion that effective action against the radicals will evoke strong reaction abroad. There will be dire threats of sanctions and worse and quite possibly South Africa will be the target of certain punitive actions. Of course all this is going on anyway, as the report of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group and the sanctions resolution in the American House of Representatives demonstrate: It is a moot point whether there is any correlation at all between anti-South African campaigning abroad and what actually happens inside the country. But for South Africans this is a time for sorting out basic priorities. They must not be expected to be willing to sacrifice their country for the sake of the compound of lies, expediency and power politics that is international opinion.

The vast majority of South Africans, of all communities, are not prepared to see this country turned into another Third World totalitarian state, robbing its people of possessions, prospects and dignity to maintain a self-servicing elite. All reasonable people must see that the time has come for a showdown with the forces of anarchy and revolution, and a united stand in forging a peaceful and stable dispensation in which the values they hold dear will be truly protected.

Pik Botha Evaluates Recommendations of EPG

MB121452 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1451 GMT 12 Jun 86

[Text] Cape Town, June 12, SAPA — The South African Government would find it very difficult to allow the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group [EPG] back into the country if their recommendation of sanctions were to be applied, the minister of foreign affairs, Mr Pik Botha, said today. At a press conference following the publishing of the EPG's report, he said he did not see that the EPG had finally closed down the possibility of continuing its work. Asked whether the initiative could be continued, he said: "The South African Government would welcome any effort or attempt at ending the violence or facilitating dialogue."

The EPG had been given limited time and although their report was "better than anything I have seen come out of the United Nations," it was not good, he said. It had clearly been drawn up before correspondence between the SA Government and the EPG had been finalised. The report had come to the conclusion that South Africa would only change under pressure. "They made a fatal error. They see economic pressures as a peaceful way to effect change while we see it as a violent method. How can the purposeful creation of unemployment be a peaceful measure?" Unemployment, the return of many thousands of workers to neighboring states and a lowering of economic standards, particularly for blacks, would result.

Mr Botha said he found the report disappointing. "The report purports to give the views of all the parties visited. In my opinion the record of the views of the ANC and others is not a correct reflection of their known views," Mr Botha said. There was no mention of the ANC view that peaceful negotiation was a betrayal of the revolution or any indication of the communist party membership within the ANC.

"It is a pity. By not stating their views as they are, the report creates the impression that the EPG regards them (the ANC) as the alternative government." There were many other parties involved in the issue, the minister said. The main problem with the EPG had been their concept of ending violence. The report correctly reflected the SA governments insistence that it could not negotiate while the resumption of violence was a negotiating counter. "This is our main concern, it is the key to the success of future negotiating processes in South Africa."

It was a matter of principle which applied to all. "All parties committed to peaceful negotiation must abandon their particular form of intimidation," he said. The South African government alone had been singled out by the EPG to take the initiative by unbanning the ANC and PAC and establishing freedom of assembly and movement as a precondition. The South African Government had made important announcements on reform and had repealed the pass and influx control measures. The EPG admitted important changes had taken place. "Nevertheless they do not consider it a serious matter but we have given clear evidence of our commitment and felt it reasonable that parties give evidence of their commitment to end violence." Finally, the SA Government failed to elicit a response from the EPG on where it stood regarding the nature of the negotiations — whether they shared the ANC view that negotiations went about the handover of power and not powersharing.

Mr Botha said the EPG had been instructed to investigate at the end of last year and had to report by April. "It was a mistake to limit their time," he said. "With three visits of a group like this it is naive to expect much progress in so short a time," Mr Botha said.

Police No Longer To Issue Unrest Reports

MB121447 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1446 GMT 12 Jun 86

[Text] Johannesburg, June 12, SAPA — The Police Division of Public Relations would no longer issue twice daily unrest reports, the division said. A spokesman said in Pretoria this function would now be taken over by the Bureau of Information in Pretoria because of the state of emergency. The bureau has been requested by telex to clarify the situation.

Continuing Reportage on Police Emergency Measures

Soweto Closed to Nonresidents

MB121514 Umtata Capital Radio in English 1500 GMT 12 Jun 86

[Text] The sprawling township of Soweto, near Johannesburg, has been closed off to nonresidents. A spokesman at the Soweto Police Headquarters says under the state of emergency also includes the media.

Naude Says 200 Detained

MB122039 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2034 GMT 12 Jun 86

[Text] Cape Town, June 12, SAPA — The nationwide security swoop on hundreds of activists, offices, and homes was today strongly condemned by opposition leaders and organisations. According to the South African Council of Churches [SACC] leaders, the Rev Beyers Naude, early indications are that up to 1200 people were detained in swoops that began before dawn across the country. In terms of the emergency regulations, those detained cannot be dentified without permission. The Bureau for Information confirmed the detentions of "several" people following the declaration of a state of emergency. But "no individual namee will be confirmed. The next-of-kin of those detained, will be informed," a spokesman for the bureau said.

According to a police Public Relations Directorate spokesman, Maj Steve van Rooyen, the detentions were in terms of Section 50 of the Internal Security Act and detainees could be held for up to 14 days. This period can be extented by order of the minister.

Hardest hit was the UDF [United Democratic Front] and its affiliates, AZAPO [Azanian People's Organisation] progressive trade unions and church organisations. However, many top UDF members fearing a crackdown were not at home when police swooped in the early hours.

A spokesman for the minister of law and order, Mr Louis le Grange, said the minister would not comment on the detentions at this stage.

150 Arrested in Border Region

MB130515 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0259 GMT 13 Jun 86

[Text] East London, June 13, SAPA — At least 150 people, including nurses, were believed to have been seized by police in the border region on the first full day of the state of emergency proclaimed by the government today. It was earlier reported that more than 81 anti-apartheid campaigners had been detained in the region which encompasses the townships of Duncan Village, Fort Beaufort, Queenstown, King Williams town and Grahamstown. No official confirmation of the alleged number of detainees could be obtained and names of the detainees cannot be reported without official permission — in terms of the emergency regulations.

But the Bureau of Information in Pretoria said "several detentions took place early today following the declaration of a national state of emergency." Those allegedly detained included members of the Duncan Village Residents Association, several nurses and residents. The chairman of the East London branch of Black Sash, Mrs Sue Power, said the nurses who had been detained had been involved in efforts to re-establish health services in Duncan Village. "They are peace-seeking people and are in no way destructive or disruptive," she said.

Government Declines To Name Detainees

MB130739 Umtata Capital Radio in English 0700 GMT 13 Jun 86

[Excerpt] The government has declined to name hundreds of antiapartheid activists detained in yesterday's pre-dawn swoops. Reports say between 1,000 and 2,000 people have been picked up, but the Bureau for Information says only the next of kin of those detained will be informed. The deputy minister of the Bureau, Louis Nel, also says that he is setting up a special press briefing center for daily news conferences on state of emergency measures. He says the routine unrest report released by the police will stop, and will be replaced by the Bureau of Information's conferences.

Newspaper Offices Raided

MB130812 Umtata Capital Radio in English 0800 GMT 13 Jun 86

[Text] Today's issue of *THE WEEKLY MAIL* nearly became the first casualty of the government's application of strict media curbs in terms of emergency regulations. According to *THE WEEKLY MAIL*, 10 armed policemen arrived at the paper's Johannesburg printing press late last night and attempted to seize the full 24,000 print run. But, after representations from the paper's owners, police left with only one copy, which they said they would use as evidence. According to *WEEKLY MAIL* staff, the policeman in charge felt that the paper was subversive. In terms of emergency regulations, the media is forbidden to publish what it terms subversive statements, which include encouragement of strikes, boycotts, sanctions, racial hatred, and opposition to conscription. *THE WEEKLY MAIL* is on sale today.

UDF Urges Attendance at Church Services 16 June

MB111626 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1622 GMT 11 Jun 86

[Text] Johannesburg, June 11, SAPA — The United Democratic Front [UDF] today called on "all peace-loving South Africans" to attend church services on June 16. "Whilst mindful of the attempt by the minister of law and order to trample upon the dignity of the majority of South Africans wishing to commemorate June 16, the UDF wishes to reiterate that our people have a right, not only political, but also God given, to commemorate the day," a UDF statement issued in Johannesburg by the organisation's publicity secretary, Mr Murphy Morobe, said. "We therefore support the call by ministers of religion to open up their churches for services on June 16 and to minister to all people in this crisis situation. Having that in mind, we have callled upon all peace-loving South Africans to attend all church services in all areas on 15th and 16th June. The UDF has in addition called on all its affiliates to hold mass meetings in all areas to call for the unbanning of the ANC." More details would be available by the weekend, the statement said.

Le Grange: Police Must Restore Order to Crossroads

MB121819 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1817 GMT 12 Jun 86

[Text] Cape Town, June 12, SAPA — The minister of law and order, Mr Louis le Grange, has instructed Cape police chiefs to bring under control the situation in Crossroads with the use of special police reinforcements which are being brought to the area. A spokesman for the minister's office confirmed today that reinforcements were being brought to the squatter camps from the neighbouring western Cape and Pretoria. Other security forces will be used in addition to the police. The police would act strongly to restore order, regardless of whether "witdoek" or "comrades" were involved. Mr le Grange said he was not prepared to allow one faction to think it could take the law in its own hands.

Meanwhile, Maj-Gen Kirk Genis of police headquarters in Pretoria has arrived in Cape Town to take charge of the situation in Crossroads and KTC. His arrival followed discussions Mr le Grange had with police chiefs recently. He instructed them to bring the conditions in Crossroads under control as soon as possible with the use of all available manpower. The spokesman for the minister said Maj-Gen Genis had a "wide range of experience in unrest-related matters in the eastern Cape and the Witwatersrand." He had also been brought in to free the divisional commissioner of police, Maj Chris Swart, "for his other essential tasks as commissioner."

'Top-Level Discussions' Held

MB121844 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1839 GMT 12 Jun 86

[Text] Cape Town, June 12, SAPA — Top-level discussions on the situation in KTC involving the police, Defence Force, the divisional council traffic chief and the Western Cape Development Board were held at Manenberg police station today. The situation in strife-torn KTC was reported to be quiet as the discussions got under way, presided over by Major-General Dirk Genis of police headquarters in Pretoria, who flew to the city to supervise bringing the situation under control. General Genis was still involved in the discussions this afternoon.

Mr Graham Lawrence, director of housing for the Development Board, said he and another board official had discussed restoration of services. He said the board estimated there were now between 60,000 and 70,000 people homeless as a result of three weeks fighting in Crossroads and KTC. Asked where the refugees were, he said: "This is a problem. We don't know where they are." He said about three-quarters of KTC had been destroyed during this weeks three days of battles. The remaining shacks were empty because the occupants had fled. This meant nearly 8000 shacks had been lost during the fighting in Crossroads and KTC — more than 2000 in Crossroads and about 5200 in KTC. He warned unless essential services such as night-soil removal were restored, a serious health problem could develop.

Tutu Negotiates 'Interim Cease-fire'

MB121855 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1852 GMT 12 Jun 86

[Text] Cape Town, June 12, SAPA — Peace returned to the KTC squatter camp in Cape Town today after an interim ceasefire was negotiated by Nobel Peace Prize Winner, Bishop Desmond Tutu. Bishop Tutu made the breakthrough by persuading vigilante leaders to meet with leaders from KTC. The archbishop-eleect of Cape Town made the ceasefire announcement after spending two hours in negotiations with "50 or 60" of the Crossroads leadership at Khayelitsha's site C settlement. The next "urgent" step was to meet again with leaders of KTC and with young militants to set up a date and venue for the peace talks.

Meanwhile, the mayor of cape Town, Mr Leon Markovitz, today appealed to the government urgently to declare the KTC/Crossroads area a national disaster zone — "and in so doing mobilise the resources at its disposal before the situation worsens any further." While Capetonians had responded warmly to requests for aid, he said, it was clear that Cape Town lacked the resources to repair fully the enormous damage in the greater Crossroads area. Expressing deep concern at "the appalling scenes of violence" in the area, the mayor also called on the state president, Mr P.W.Botha, to appoint a wide-ranging commission of inquiry "finally to establish the facts."

An uneasy calm reigned in the KTC area today and the sound of refugees desperately demolishing unburnt shacks replaced the sounds of gunfire which dominated the area over the past three days. Relief and health workers in the area reported no fighting at all, and a newspaper team which toured the area saw no signs of fresh battle and a minimal police presence. The death toll has now risen to 23 with the discovery of two more bidies in Nyanga East this afternoon. Health workers at the Guguletu day hospital said they had had a "very quiet day" with no deaths and almost no injuries reported.

The senior deputy commissioner of police, administration, Maj-Gen Dirk Genis, of police headquarters, Pretoria, today held discussions with senior officers in Cape Town on the unrest in the black townships, especially the Crossroads and KTC areas. Gen Genis has been instructed by Mr Louis le Grange, minister of law and order, to take control of the security forces in the Cape Peninsula where police reinforcements started to arrive today.

Meanwhile, Bishop Tutu said the witdoeke leaders agreed on two things: "One is that they would like to have a meeting to discuss a settlement, a peace, and the other is that there should be a cease-fire until that meeting is held. We obviously can't say when that meeting will be until we meet with the leadership on the other side." Bishop Tutu asked journalists not to probe too deeply into the details at this stage to avoid jeopardising the interim peace as "we have reached a very delicate stage in this whole affair and we are dealing with matters of life and death".

Late today Bishop Patrick Matolengwe, who is the Anglican vicar-general in the absence of Archbishop Philip Russell, said Bishop Tutu had set up a meeting with the KTC leadership and he saw them tonight.

Meanwhile, police confirmed that another three bodies and seven wounded had been found in KTC yesterday. A police liaison officer for the Western Province, Lt Attie Laubscher, said one man was shot dead by police with an R1 rifle after he had fired four shots at a police foot patrtol in KTC at 4.30pm yesterday. Police recovered a light calibre handgun. The two other bodies had several panga wounds. He said that during police operations in KTC yesterday police had come under fire four times. Shortly before 2pm yesterday eight shots had been fired at a police casspir in KTC but no one had been injured. Police had fired an R1 rifle at a gunman who fired two shots at them shortly after 4pm and later at someone who had fired four shots at them in another part of KTC at 4.40pm. It was not known if anyone had been hit, he said. Police had also been petrolbombed on five occasions during which they used teargas and birdshot to disperse crowds.

'Text' of Communist Party 'Working Document'

MB121714 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1713 GMT 12 Jun 86

[Text] Cape Town, June 12, SAPA — Following is the full text of the SACP [South African Communist Party] working document referred to by the state president in his speech to parliament today, preceded by Mr Botha's comments:

"The politburo of the SACP is currently (May 1986) circulating a directive/discussion document on negotiations to its members in order to promote uniformity on this issue throughout their ranks and to foster a similar approach within the ranks of the ANC. The document originated from an extended politburo meeting with members of the central committee in March 1986 where a decision was taken to provide more systematic theoretical guidelines on certain vital questions/problems which have been highlighted by the current situation in South Africa."

"It is universally acknowledged that our situation is pregnant with the prospects for change. The use of brute force, combined with attempts at reformist diversions designed to avoid real change, are visibly failing. The resistance is not being subdued. Instead, more and more people are being awakened to political life. The political statement circulated by the central committee after our last plenary session touches on these developments in greater detail and forms part of the background to this discussion document. Our liberation front is becoming increasinsly accepted as more than an agitational opposition; it is regarded by a large slice of the world and, more importantly, by the majority of our people, as the immediate alternative power to racism and explotation. The heightened tempo of the conflict and the prospects which are emerging for radical transformation demand continuous attention to our organisational, agitational and mobilising tasks both in the military and political spheres as part of the unfolding revolutionary process. These developments also require reflection on a number of problems relating to the strategy and tactics of the revolutionary transformation which may previously have been in the realm of speculative debate but which have now assumed an immediate significance.

"Part cadres at different levels of the liberation structures have of course participated in the process of elaborating answers to questions which changing reality is increasingly imposing. It has obviously become more urgent than ever for the party as a collective to reflect more deeply than it has managed to do in the recent period on some of the problems raised by the changing situation. The strategic objectives defined in our programme, party constitution and other basis documents remain valid. These documents define the main content of our national democratic revolution and describe it as stage towards the struggle for social emancipation in the epoch of the world transition from capitalism and within the context of the struggle against imperialism. The dominant role of the working class at this stage of the struggle is stressed.

"The Freedom Charter provided broad, popular guidelines which describe the main content of the people's power in the immediate aftermath of a victory of the national democratic revolution. It is not a programme for a socialist South Africa but, depending upon the social forces which come to power, it can become the starting point for creating conditions which would lead to a socialist transformation.

"Our broad strategy for achieving peoples power is to mobilise the masses for a seizure of power through a combination of political action and armed strugle in which partial and general uprisings will play a vital role in the developing stages of people's war. Paragraph 5 (above) very briefly summarises and describes the main beacons of our struggle. But the tactical journey towards these beacons must be influenced by the continuously changing and developing situation. And, as we have already emphasised, events of the last twenty months have resulted in a very significant transformation of the balance of class and national forces involved in our struggle.

"There has already been an immeasurable strengthening of the revolutionary forces. Organisationally, this expresses itself primarily in the enormous growth in the popularity, reputation and status of the ANC led liberation alliance. This alliance attracts

varying degress of allegiance and support form the masses organised at local, regional and national level and from the organised working calss. Roughly speaking, this sector as a whole encompasses the content of the main revolutionary forces as organised contingents. In class terms the core of these contingents are the urban and rural working people in alliance with other classes and strata among the nationally oppressed majority such as the black petty bourgeoisie whose objective interests will be served by the revolutionary transformation envisaged by the liberation alliance. In addition to the struggle in our country is creating a situation in which the white power bloc is beginning to lose its cohesion.

"Sections of the ruling class in the imperialistic countries, which were previously quite ready to underpin the apartheid system, are also beginning to lose faith in its capacity to protect their interests. Sensing the inevitability of change, important sectors of the white power bloc and some imperialistic strata are themselves beginning to seek a transformation involving mainly the extention of varying forms of political democracy within the framework of capitalism. Recognition by powerful segments of our ruling class (and some of their imperialist allies) that they can no longer continue ruling in the old way obviously favours the revolutionary forces; it brings to the fore the need to intensify the politicalterrain of struggle so as to weaken still further the cohesion of the forces ranged agaisnt us.

"Thus, there are emerging in South Africa what Lenin called (in relation to the February 1917 Russian Revolution) dissimilar current, heterogenous class interests, contrary political and social stirrings, as objective factors in deepening the enemy crisis, fragmenting its previously monolithic character and therefore objectively strengthening the prospects of a radical breakthrough. On the face of it there appears to be a proliferation of new groupings which consider themselves to be part of the forces for change but which cannot necessarily be embraced as part of what we regard as the revolutionary forces. By far the most important class grouping which falls into this category is what one might call (for want of the better phrase) the liberal bourgeoisie. It is the representatives of the latter and their like minded imperialist friends which triggered off the current series of talks and dialogue with the ANC. Many issues going to the very root of the politics and economics of an immediate transformation have been a subject of discussion with these forces and of continuous speculation in the international and South African media.

"Let us be clear. The liberal bourgeosie seek transformations of the South African society which go beyond the reform limits of the present regime but which aim to pre-empt the objectives of the revolutionary forces. Old style apartheid no longer serves their class interests.

"In addition, external pressures triggered off by an unending people's resistance, are taking a terrible toll of their existing and potential economic interests. It is clear that the new-found political liberalism of a significant section of the bourgeosie (represented by the signatories to the FCI [Federated Chamber of Industries] business charter) has, as its primary objective, the saving of capitalism implying, by and large, the retention by them of the ownership of all or most of the means of production. Their business charter, which in certain respects proclaims the same liberties as the Freedom Charter, understandably incorporates such clauses as "everyone has the right to own property, alone as well as in association with others ... and everyone has the right freely to employ labour and to own or manage a business in accordance with the rights and principles set out in this charter."

And, (as we shall see later) the other side of the same coin is the fear of a revolutionary takeover and, therefore, an attempt to avoid majority rule in its true meaning.

"In other words, the liberal bourgeoisie seek a February but, understandably, in a way which would prevent it from moving into an October. Their strategy for achieving this objective has been clearly articulated by them. They seek transformation through negotiation and not the kind of conflict which would culminate in a revolutionary seizure of power. Lenin said of the Russian liberal bourgeosie that it 'does not demand the overthrow of the tsarist government ... it is striving to effect as peaceful a deal as possible between the tsar and the revolutionary people ... a deal which would give a maximum of power to itself, the bourgeosie, and a minimum to the revolutionary people ... the proletariat and the peasantry.' To implement this tactic they, together their external allies, can be expected to attempt to push the revolutionary forces into negotiation before they are strong enough to impose their basic objectives.

"The intention is to defuse the people's struggles and to force a compromise based on existing power relationships. A vital element of their strategy is to prevent effective majority rule so as to keep the national forces divided. For example Gavin Relly, one of the most influential signatories to the business charter, casts doubt on the advisability of having a single directly elected assembly, supports the perpetuation of tribal power centres such as the homelands and states that an 'immediate handing over of power on the basis of one-man-one-vote would result in political chaos and economic retreat.'

"Consistent with the above is the insistence by the Rellys and the Van Zyl Slabberts that there must be a break by the ANC with the Communist Party and that in any case the ANC must be regarded as only one of the many organisations among the black forces when it comes to a round-table settlement discussion. Van Zyl Slabbert's report back to Botha about his discussions with the ANC reveals another level of his approach. He describes the ANC following among the people as a 'myth' and asked for permission to see Barnard (the head of national intelligence) in order to discuss proposals (with security implications) which he felt could 'draw the teeth' of the ANC.

"We have devoted space to the problem of the liberal bourgeosie because it helps to highlight with greater clarity a number of questions related to the character of our revolution. More particularly:

1. Our situation differs from the situation facing the Russian Bolsheviks in 1905 and in the period prior to February 1917.

"In our case the white bourgeosie (including the political liberal segment) is in power: It is the ruling class. Therefore we must resist any confusion between the national democratic revolution

(whose content is spelt out in our programme, in the ANC strategy and tactics, etc) and the classical constituents of bourgeois democratic revolutions. The unique and a typical form which South African capitalism has developed (based on colonialism of a special type) has placed on the agenda a struggle for national and political demands which are usually associated with the historic struggle waged by the bourgeoisie at the dawn of capitalism against feudalism. These demands have become knowd as bourgeois democratic rights.

"2. In any case (in contrast to 1905 and February 1917) no sector of our bourgeosie (with the exception of the tiny weak black bourgeosie) supports the struggle for bourgeois democratic rights in their true meaning. As we have seen, they remain opposed to the very starting point of bourgeois democratic rights, i.e majority rule, one man one vote in a united national state. Despite a great deal of rhetoric on questions of democracy their ultimate solutions are always qualified by referring to group rights which, in the South African context, implies various forms of protection of the accumulated privileges of the white group. Our characterisation thus far of the liberal bourgeoisie does not however dispose of the question completely. A serious revolutionary movement always tries to divide the enemy and to broaden the base of opposition to the main enemy.

"This implies the need for ever-widening varities of opposition some of which may not be motivated by revolutionary intentions. In this connection we must also bear in mind the danger of the potential growth in strength of out-and-out Nazi forces such as AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement], HNP [Reformed National Party], Treurnicht's CP [Conservative Party] and their vigilante offshoots and the possibility of and undisguised military dictatorship.

"Also we must not underestimate the counterrevolutionary offensive against freedom movements orchestrated by the Reagan Adminstration.

"On the other hand a political re-adjustment in the ruling power block which favours its liberal bourgeoisie wing would undoubtedly create better objective conditions for the continuing struggle by the revolutionary forces to achieve the aims of the national democratic revolution. Tactically, what flows from this?

"On the one hand we are justified in helping by all means (including talks) to advance the process of breaking the cohesion and unity of the ruling class and to isolate and weaken its most racist and politically reactionary sector. On the other hand, without blurring some very important distinctions between liberal bourgeoisie and their more reactionary class brothers.

"We must expose their objective of co-opting forces from among the oppressed in order to frustrate the achievements of the main aims of the national democratic revolution. We must not play into their hands by working out compromises (or being seen to work out compromises) for some hypothetical negotiating table which constitutes a retreat from the main aims of the national democratic revolution. Nor must a genuine desire to project a public image of reasonableness, tempt us to paddle softly on the true nature of the liberation alliance and its revolutionary socio-economic objectives. At the same time we must not mechanically dig in our heels against any future possibility of negotiation with other forces. We must remember that virtually all revolutionary struggles in the post war period (Algeria, Angola, Mozambique etc) reached their final climax at the negotiating table.

"But the question of negotiation usually arises at a time of a major revolutionary climax involving the transfer of power based on the massive strength of the people's offensive. At such a stage we have to judge what interim compromises are historically justified and take the people with us. The main thrust of our present strategy remains a revolutionary seizure of power. Premature speculation about possible compromises in order to tempt broader forces such as the liberal bourgeoisie on to our side, may serve to blunt the edge of the people's revolutionary military.

"Another question which requires special attention is how to harmonise and achieve a correct balance between the imperatives of class alliances and the independent role of the working class and its political vanguard. In the area of mass organisation the answer is less problematic. The emergency of a strong trade union movement which is both independent of and part of the broad alliance of revolutionary forces creates a worker's constitutency with enormous potential for acting at the mass level in defence of workers interests both economically and politically. The trade union movement does not and cannot carry out the functions of the political vanguard of the working class. This is the role of the party of the working class, which we are.

"In the alliance headed by the ANC we represent both short and long term political and social aspirations of the working class. We have always believed that our party can only carry out its historic mission by ensuring that its vital role in the alliance does not result in a negation of its role as a public - independent vanguard of the working class. In this connection we must consider the following:

"We continue to face the old problem of party work always being pushed into second place because of the necessary involvement of virtually all our talented personnel in other structures of the liberation alliance. This continues to limit our capacity for the independent spread of working class perspectives in the struggle and hinders the strengthening of the party organisationally. If no effective steps are taken to deal with this weakness, the party will not be able to carry out its historic mission. It is also necessary to reflect on the profile of the party in the liberation alliance whose public head is correctly the ANC. The question which needs to be addressed is: To what extent has it become accepted as a permanent feature of the alliance that the party is not a participant as a party in the activities and relations of the alliance that the party is not a participant as a party in the activities and relations of the alliance with other forces?.

"This question recently under consideration in the preparations for the meeting with COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions]. After prior discussion which included an informal canvassing of the views of some of the COSATU delegation it was decided that the party should not be seen to be having an independent presence in the talks.

Without questioning the correctness of the decision on this specific occasion it has become important to open this whole

problem for reflection and discussion especially in relation to the status and role of the party in our future serious negotiating processes. It is also necessary to reflect on the extent to which the party should (like SACTU [South African Confederation of Trade Unions]) develop publicly-expressed independent relationships with selected working class groupings.

"14.3. Making the formal profile of the party more visible will not, on its own, give it the capacity to perform its historic mission. In the end, it is the party's strength on the ground and more especially, its organised presence among the black working class, which counts.

"15. The situation has shot into greater prominence than ever before the question of the character of the interim phase of people's power. We have partly touched upon this in reference to the role and objectives of the liberal bourgeoisie. The series of talks on which the alliance has correctly embarked demand from us more precise formulations than are contained in the broadly stated objectives of the Freedom Charter.

"Understandably, there is increasing pressure for answers to questions which relate to the interim phase of people's power. It has clearly become necessary to elaborate more detailed approaches to matters such as the relationship between private and public property in the interim phase. These approaches must be guided by the following general considerations:

"15.1. On the one hand, as clearly spelt out in our programmatic documents, the immediate (underlined) attainment of the socialist revolution is not on the agenda. This does not mean that we are putting it off but, to quote Lenin's words, we are taking the first step towards it in the only possible way, along the only correct path, namely the path of a democratic republic.

"15.2. On the other hand, liberation implies a massive redistribution of wealth and cannot have much meaning without the undermining of the economic hold over the means of production which is exercised by the existing ruling class and without (at the political level) creating a state form in which the working people are dominant.

"This implies more than an alteration in voting arrangments. Meaningful exercise of people's power during the interim phase is inconceivable in a situation in which the army, the peolice force, the state bureaucracy, the communication media, etc, etc, remain substantially in the control of the existing structures. It is only a provisional people's government which can take measures which will ensure the possibilities of a real exercise of democracy.

"16. In conclusion it is necessary to stress that the talks which have taken place have undoubtedly served to enhance the unity of the democratic forces and to weaken the cohesion of the enemy both at home and abroad. Indeed this area of the politico-military terrain of struggle needs to be pursued with even greater vigour. We must however make sure that the whole membership of the liberation movement and the people generally are kept fully informed about the nature of the talks so as to avoid misunderstanding and distortion of their real nature. The emphasis of the struggle rests on the rising momentum of the people's offensive which must be intensified with the object of winning peoples power. The issue of future negotiations (to be distinguished from the talks) must always be dealt with in a manner which will not serve to divert or defuse this momentum. We must continue to make clear that our 'bottom line' for negotiation is the transfer of political power to the majority in one united demmcratic South Africa. This objective should, however, not divert us from creating the broadest possible front of struggle around immediate basic demands such as the release of political prisoners, troops out of townships, dismantling apartheid, legalising the ANC and so on. The winning of these demands may create a better climate for negotiations but cannot in itself be regarded as a bargaining chip for slowing down or suspending the people's offensive."

Press Comments on Current Issues, Problems

[Editorial Report]

STAR on Influx Control

"Crossroads is a 'beacon on the road of the failure of influx control'" says the Johannesburg *THE STAR* in English on a page 20 editorial. "That is the view not of critics or PFP [Progressive Federal Party] do-gooders but of a Nationalist MP. The disaster of government policy stems from the fact that until last year the Western Cape was viewed as a white and coloured preference area. That is why the people of Crossroads and its adjacent squatter camps were harried over the years to move elsewhere; that is why these camps remained shanty towns without proper amenities and without elected leadership, leaving them so vulnerable to factional violence." "There is a certain irony in the fact that as Crossroads is once again erupting, Nationalists are admitting in Parliament that the policy of influx control was a mistake. The MP for Belville, Mr Andre van der Walt, who used the 'beacon' metaphor, also said that control measures had led to 'an evil cycle which clouded black-white relations.' This spirit of understanding could have saved the country much misery in the past. But it would be useful even now if it prevailed — and the government could be persuaded to act with compassion and good sense over Crossroads."

President's Reform Deceptive

Allister Sparks writes in his "My View" column on the same page: "The Stellenbosch student leader didn't mince his words when asked what he and his friends thought of President Botha. 'I believe the Rubicon speech is the way he really feels,' the student replied. 'That was the true man talking.' Looking at events of the past few weeks, at the calculated shooting down of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group (EPG) and the kragdadige [powerful] approach to the June 16 anniversary it is difficult to disagree. It is Rubicon all over again." "Once again the world is being told to go to blazes, the government is going to show who's baas [boss] around here, if it means sanctions, another slump in the rand and generally more of an economic mess, too bad." President Botha is of two minds. He wants reform "but it has to be his prescription of reform leading to 'moderate' blacks — that is those who are prepared to work within his system such as 'homeland' leaders and community councillors — being included in some carefully devised constitutional arrangement which will ensure that the whites, and specifically the National Party, remain in control." However, "in attempting this he has

destroyed the old apartheid ideology, and this has started a dynamic towards a more radical kind of change which President Botha does no want." His own people are accusing him of betraying Afrikaner nationalism. "My guess is that it is the burgeoning growth of the right wing and the accusations of betrayal particularly that are getting to him." Botha's "astonishing speech to the President's Council, slamming the 'unsolicited interference' of 'meddling groups visiting the country,'" the military raids into Lusaka, Harare and Botswana and the booklet on the ANC, "making it quite clear that it was not prepared to negotiate with the organization," led to the EPG's conclusion that South Africa is not interested in negotiations. "Our Caesar has committed his country to a hazardous venture that will involve sanctions and civil war. God knows where it will end, but as we move into the grim phase that now lies ahead let us not forget how we got there and how it might have been avoided."

Role of Black Business in Economy

THE STAR carries on page 20 an edited version of Progessive Federal Party (PFP) leader Colin Eglin's address at the 14th annual conference of the Free State African Chamber of Commerce and Industry in which he says "Black business in South Africa faces more challenges than probably at any other stage in its existence. Indeed, it is something of a miracle that black business has managed to exist at all." Change on the part of the government has become apparent. The 30-year leasehold for blacks in urban areas was extended to a 99-year leasehold. "Now the government has abolished the Black Urban Areas Act. This will mean relief to the enterpreneur, in that it will be easier to establish undertakings. Simultaneously, the government has introduced legislation to provide for the temporary easing of restrictions which inhibit the operation of the free market, and specifically the operation of the informal sector." The government has also started to realize some economic truths. The first being that "you cannot have the economic prosperity that is generated by a free enterprise system in an apartheid society. Economic freedom is only part of the total of human freedom." "The second of these truths is that while the government may have a complementary role to play in providing the necessary infrastructure and the education, health, social welfare and other necessary services, the productive thrust in our economy must come from the initiative and work of the individual and the private sector." "In the minds of many young blacks, the concepts of capitalism and apartheid have become identified as two sides of the same coin." "In the years that lie ahead, when the free enterprise system as last has the opportunity of being truly free and showing what it can do, I trust that you businessmen will prove that you can create wealth, not just for yourselves but for the people. If you do so you will not only help to roll back poverty but you will help to preserve the free enterprise system."

SOWETAN on 16 June Anniversary

"June 16 is likely to see one of the biggest confrontations between the people and the government, unless the State acts with restraint and responsiblity" says a page 4 editorial in the Johannesburg *SOWETAN* in English on 11 June. All South Africans are urged to "voice their total rejection of the bannings on gatherings related to the Freedom Charter and the June 16 uprisings." "It should also be well known that the build-up to the 10th anniversary of June 16 has been organised carefully by almost all black political organisations. The momentum is so great that the captains of business and many other whites have indicated their support for June 16 to be declared a public holiday." "Already the voices calling for more pressure on the South African Government are getting louder. It is the responsibility of the government to resolve this crisis. Not only are they supposed to be in charge of events here, but their laws have fuelled the instability."

'Focus' on 16 June Anniversary

Themba Molefe writes in the "Focus" column on the same page that the "Cillie Commission's report tabled in Parliament on February 28 1980, found that some cornerstones of the apartheid policy contributed to the flare-up that shook South Africa in 1976. The root causes of the violence 10 years ago were bitterness and frustration among black pupils at the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction." "The Cillie Commission noted in 1980: 'The Soweto conflagration and after, was a consequence of apartheid, injustice and official bungling.'" "June 16 1986 comes when there is death and destruction in the townships — at an age when the new generation of black children has become the standard bearers of struggle."

Government Increases 16 June Tension

"Even in the context of daily violence amounting to civil warfare at Crossraods, mine blasts in the Transvaal, and running conflict in Kwandebele, June 16 now looms as a threat. Talk of confrontation is bad enough; the expection of confrontation is almost a self-fulfilling prophecy" says the page 8 editorial in the Johannesburg *BUSINESS DAY* in English. "Agents of the liberation movement are not innocent of creating this tension, but government has played into their hands as though it were employed to do so." Minister of Law and Order Louis le Grange's threats of a state of emergency "alert every television company and radio station in the Western world, and it spurs the radicals to put on even a better show." Banning the meetings to commemorate the Soweto riots of June 16 has created an opportunity for radical mischief. "Markets, we are told, are frozen in trepidation. No wonder. If there were ever any chance of June 16 passing unnoticed, in rallies and speech-making and marches under banners calling for freedom, government's handling of the run-up has surely reduced that chance to miniscule proportions."

CAPE TIMES on Security Bills

"The passage of two nasty pieces of legislation which Nationalists want on the statute book in the name of 'security' has been delayed, but not prevented" says page 8 editorial of the Cape Town *CAPE TIMES* in English on 9 June . Although the security measures have been prevented from becoming law before 16 June "in one form or another, they will become law because that is what the National Party wants. Nationalists feel they cannot govern without being able to declare 'unrest areas.'" The government wants to take the same powers as in last year's emergency proclamations and "hopes the world and financial markets will not take quite the same notice if they are only called unrest powers. It also believes that, if it has these powers, then unrest will go away because all the subversives will be locked up. It is wrong on both counts. Unrest is endemic not because the government does not have sufficient authoritarian powers, but because it refuses to address key political and social grievances." Even if the amendments proposed by the Houses of Representatives and delegates are accepted, they should "not support the

measure as a whole. Helping to sponsor repression will make them the junior partners not just of the government but of apartheid itself."

RSA Role in Angola Questioned

A second editorial questions South Africa's involvement in the Angolan civil war and its backing the Unita rebel army. "As the Botha government goes into laager on the home front, there is no reason to think it is abandoning its policy of aggression, covert and overt, against neighbour states." In reply to the allegation that it attacked oil tanks and mined cargo vessels in the Angolan port of Namibe the SADF said "'it is easy to blame South Africa for everything that happened in Southern Africa.' No doubt it is. If south African servicemen are being sent into action beyond our borders, however, the country is entitled to know."

CAPE TIMES on Violence in Squatter Camp

"After the Crossroads disaster, yesterday's appalling events in the black areas of the peninsula are beyond belief" says a page 6 editorial in the Cape Town *CAPE TIMES* in English on 10 June. "Once again lawless violence has run riot, much of the time unchecked, as it is alleged, with the poorest, weakest and most vulnerable section of the black community — the burnt-out Crossroads refugees — again bearing the brunt. It is a chaotic and shameful situation, reflecting badly on the responsible authorities, to put it as charitably as possible." "There are allegations of police complicity with lawless vigilantism." However, "official statements speak of fighting between so-called 'comrades' or anti-apartheid activists and conservative 'witdoek' [white scarves] vigilantes." Despite a Supreme Court temporary interdict restraining the police, the South African Defense Force (SADF) and "witdoek" vigilantes from participating in or permitting unlawful attacks on people or property in the KTC shanty camp it was "burning and was at least partially destroyed." President Botha would do well to appoint a wide-ranging commission of inquiry to examine charges against the police of the utmost gravity."

CAPE TIMES on Security Amendments

An editorial in the *CAPE TIMES* on page 6 reviews the issue of amendments to the security bills. "MPs should ask why these measures are needed in the first place" and "not merely take the government's word for it that these measures are necessary and confine their efforts to trying to lessen the worst provisions." "Nationalists love authoritarian powers, and they love seeing all unrest simply in terms of communist plots. MPs should ask what other plans the government has for removing real grievances which could contribute to the country's long-term stability. They should not be bullied into accepting these measures as better than a new emergency declaration or martial law. Unless MPs from all three chambes are convinced that there is no alternative to this draconian legislation, they should not help make the law.

Forceful Approach to Violence Proposed

In his "Briefly" column on page 14 of the Johannesburg *RAPPORT* in Afrikaans of 8 June, Willem de Klerk writes: "We must hit the unrest — and 16 June — between the eyes. The security of the country is without a doubt the main debate at present. The way we deal with it makes headlines overseas. This involves increased detention without trial, declarations of states of emergency, the ANC's role in violence, the 16 June commemoration (which according to reports is also contributing to a fall in the rand) and many other incidents. Our image at the moment is that of a country falling apart. Everything is beginning to rotate around violence and it is becoming justifiable to ask if there is any way of controlling it. The two opposing approaches to the issue of violence are the hard-hitting lines and the powerlessness line." De Klerk says the hard-hitting line demands that the prerevolutionary chaos should be stopped with counterviolence. This is a no-holes-barred approach, it will retard reform, destroy the economy, and entrench ungovernability. The powerlessness line, he says, sees hitting back as counter productive, it will achieve nothing, increase racial polarization, hammer the settlement politics, and clinch our international disaster. Both approaches should be used, as the one controls the other. "The government should be encouraged to use the hard-hitting approach, despite all the risk attached. There is no other option at present. For the whole country's security it is now necessary that order is imposed with an iron fist which will put an end to the unrest. This will need extraordinary powers and a united front of opinion must give it the driving forces. The ground rules of democracy must not be brought into doubt. Too many of the hard-liners, whether they know it or not, use arguments typical of dictators," says De Klerk. "Together with the hard-line, we need further imaginative political strides. Announcements and the creation of new political structures for the interim period, rapid action on the abolition of the remaining apartheid, a new initiative on Mandela, further steps to achieve a visible alliance of those who favor power sharing... whatever, the government knows what plans are in the pipeline. If these things can all be placed on the table at the same time, as both plan and program, it can hasten the division between the revolutionaries and the power-sharing proponents."

RAPPORT on 16 June Commemoration

A page 14 editorial says: "It is the view of *RAPPORT* that holidays which have a symbolic significance for any community are important. It is understanable that 16 June is one such day for the black community . Although that day has strong emotional overtones with negative contents as well, the right of organized commemoration of the day ought to be recognized. Hopefully this will be so arranged in the future. Unfortunately, the militants and revolutionaries have saddled this day with their own intentions. Given the present climate in the country, we support the government's decision to ban gatherings on 16 June. This has caused wide and dangerous reaction, but one has to choose between two evils. Hopefully in the coming week a compromise can be reached on the kind of gatherings which can be allowed."

RAPPORT on Crisis in SA

A second editorial says the headlines in the past week have been sobering. It mentions the new sanctions package being pressed for in America, speculation of Commonwealth pressure on Mrs Thatcher over sanctions, the crisis of the rand and the refusal of the domestic economy to recover, unemployment, unrest, security, and polirization. "It is clear that great and difficult changes lie in wait for us. In this atmosphere a few ground rules are in order." "At times like this a national unity-in-crisis can achieve much. Those of all races who believe in power sharing, as well as a split white electorate have to accept that, despite our differences, we have to tackle the great issues which are threatening

our country." "Renewed strides in our politics to speed up the new dispensation will provide a way out. The revolutionary atmosphere has to be stopped. The defeatism and fatalism must be countered by a spirit of determination. We must see this period through by each remaining in his post, making a success of the job and carrying on as usual, regardless of the humiliation, or frustration. Going ahead with the internal and international dialogue, because isolation will mean disaster."

ZAMBIA

Kaunda Condemns RSA State of Emergency

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[Text] The declaration of a state of emergency by South Africa has been condemned by all progressive countries in the world.

In Zambia, His Excellency President Kaunda has said the arrests of hundreds of activists is uncalled for action which will not stop the looming bloodshed in South Africa. The president, who was speaking in an interview with Radio New Zealand, NOS [Netherlands Broadcasting Corporation] Broadcasting Corporation in Amsterdam, Netherlands, and the Canadian National Radio Broadcasting Network in Toronto, said the state of emergency was one of the last kicks of the dying regime.

He expressed hope that Queen Elizabeth II would intervene in the South African situation, although he was reluctant to appeal to her for help because he noted that she had once changed her mind on supporting the rebel Rhodesian regime after her visit to Zambia in 1979.